

THE EARL OF READING

A SKETCH OF A GREAT CAREER
AT THE BAR, ON THE BENCH
IN DIPLOMACY, IN INDIA

TOGETHER WITH
AN AUTHORIZED REPORT OF HIS
SPEECHES DELIVERED IN INDIA

BY
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ETC., ETC.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN this brief sketch of Lord Reading's career I have made myself the medium for expressing the gratitude which the Moslems of India, and indeed of all the world, feel that they owe His Excellency for his stout and successful championing of their views in regard to the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Islam. That sentiment is not confined to the humble individual who has penned these lines, but is generally entertained by all the members of his race and religion.

At the same time the execution of this task was not easy for one who possessed no special materials to illumine the pages with personal reminiscence or association. The only way in which it might be discharged with justice to the subject and with satisfaction to the reader was to make diligent search for everything that Lord Reading had said or written during his career, and thus to constitute him in a sense the author of his own story. I shall be happy if I have attained some measure of success in this undertaking. I feel sure of two things at least, viz., that no career could be more picturesque or appealing, and that no author could be more desirous of doing justice to his theme than I have been.

I have to express my obligations to the proprietors of *The Pioneer* of Allahabad for giving me permission to reproduce His Excellency's speeches in India, as they must be referred to by every student of the eventful period in our history to which they related.

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THE EARL OF READING

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND AT THE BAR

IN the first speech he delivered after his arrival in India in April, 1921, Lord Reading referred to the ancient race to which he belonged, and a circumstance that added to the significance of the reference on that occasion might be found in the fact that the President of the Welcome Committee who read the address, Sir Sassoon David, was another representative of the same race. It is appropriate to begin this record of Lord Reading's career by recalling these passages, because his racial descent was made a mark of reproach at the time of his appointment to the exalted rank of Viceroy of India. It was said with reference to his Semitic origin, by some persons, who it might have been thought should have known better, that the Mahomedans of India would regard the selection of a member of the Jewish community with disapproval and even displeasure. These self-constituted critics quite overlooked some facts that proved the contrary. There have never been any "Pogroms" in the realms of Islam. They were the monopoly of Christian Russia. The most popular British statesman among the Moslem was Lord Beaconsfield, who was the champion of the Sultan, and tore the odious Treaty of San Stefano in fragments. Lord Reading is in a sense the successor of Lord Beaconsfield. There would be perhaps more confidence in British policy throughout Islam if there were more Jewish statesmen to direct it.

Rufus Daniel, the second of the three sons of Joseph Michael Isaacs, and his wife Sara Woolf, was born on

10th October, 1860. His father was a merchant of respectable position in the City of London, and his uncle Sir Henry Isaacs had filled the Chair of its Lord Mayor. His mother's father, Michael Woolf, was also a City merchant, and was well known for the active part he took in looking after the interests of the Jewish community. The example of his forbears, and the atmosphere in which he was brought up seemed to predestine Rufus Isaacs to a commercial career in the great metropolis.

But for one indiscreet, yet vivid disclosure, little would be known of his schooldays beyond the bald facts that he first attended a preparatory Jewish seminary at Northwick Terrace kept by the Rev. A. P. Mendes, and then went to University College School in Gower Street, which was one of the first big schools to be run on unsectarian lines. But for the following revelation by a former school-fellow the educational period of his career would have left no trace. Many years after that stage in life had been passed, to be precise, in 1910, at the time of his being appointed Solicitor-General, a writer in the *Jewish Chronicle*, who used habitually the pseudonym of Mentor, published his school reminiscences of the young comrade who had just leapt into fame. The following is the full text of the narrative—

"Much has been said about the varied—I had almost written variegated—career of the new Solicitor-General. Counting-house, seamanship, Stock Exchange, he experienced them all before he was called to the Bar, and he utilized the experience of them all in the profession in which he found so eminently his true métier. This is sufficiently remarkable. It is even more remarkable that Mr. Isaacs should have managed to outstrip barristers who had been trained exclusively for legal work and who had many advantages of early up-bringing and association which he lacked.

"Far more remarkable is the wonderful success of Mr. Isaacs to those who like myself remember him when he was a boy. As a pupil at school he was pre-eminent as the very worst of boys from the schoolmaster's point of

view. Lessons he left unlearned, class work he shirked, and mischief was his only devotion. Nor was he mischievous only in himself—he delighted in inspiring others in his ‘wicked ways.’ Indeed my recollection of the future Solicitor-General is always associated with a demoniacal young mischievous imp with sparkling eyes who was ever in disgrace or being caned, and yet withal was ever merry and deliciously humorous.

“I recall one occasion when he was specially rebellious and was brought down for corporal punishment. Isaacs, or rather part of him, was put at the end of a form face downwards, the nether part of his anatomy resting on the floor. The Headmaster sitting astride belaboured that organ of the culprit which was nearest at hand with generous profusion. Isaacs screamed and twisted about—well, to the complete satisfaction of the master. But those who could see the victim’s face, which the Headmaster could not, would have seen that young Isaacs was exercising his lungs only because he knew well that it was the surest way of shortening his punishment. The headmaster conceived that he was hurting him terribly. We who were watching the whole proceeding knew the contrary, for, his screams notwithstanding, Isaacs was laughing all the time. ‘Isaacs Secundus, you will go to the devil!’ was the prophecy often repeated of his schoolmasters. Instead of that, ‘the devil’ of the legal sort often comes to him and is right glad of the privilege.”

However vivid this reminiscence may read it should not be accepted too fully or applied too generally. The school is not named, but it seems self-evident that it was only the preparatory school at Maida Vale, for had it been a faithful picture of his later schooldays in Gower Street, where the discipline was strict, it is quite certain that such a pupil would not have been allowed to remain. The account then must be read as relating to the days of early boyhood or even childhood. To have passed his preliminary examinations at the Bar, which failing the possession of a University degree are by no means trivial, it is clear that he must have possessed something more

than a rudimentary acquaintance with the classics. The picture reveals a high spirit, a sense of humour, and perhaps an inherent inability to submit to restraint. Unfortunately there is no companion picture of his later schooldays to offer by way of contrast.

From University College School he went to Professor Kahn's Jewish Institute in Brussels to study French and other modern languages, and finally he proceeded to Hanover to perfect his German in the centre where it was supposed to be spoken with the greatest purity. At this stage his educational course in the ordinary sense of the term may be considered to have ended, and his family no doubt were at that moment seriously considering the question of his future career. Their natural inclination would be in favour of the commercial pursuits to which his forbears had been devoted, but the routine and restraint of life in a City office did not greatly appeal to his ardent spirit and lively imagination. While they were forming the most excellent and natural plans for his future welfare, he formed a decision of his own and put it in practice as hastily as he formed it. He went to sea!

This is, as far as is known, how this romantic episode of his boyhood came about. The information on the subject is very slight and shadowy: but, until he may reveal the secret springs of his action in some future "Reminiscences" to be written in the evening of life, the task of surmise must be left to others. A friend of his suggests that he was suddenly smitten with a desire to see the great world, and that this passion was too great to be suppressed. He was at the age when the fascination of the sea establishes a strong hold on the imagination of youth, and the desire to sail beyond the horizon to far-off lands and across tropical seas once indulged soon becomes irresistible. The only comment that would suggest itself is that he might have gratified his wish in a more congenial and comfortable form. But had he done so he might have remained fixed in his purpose, and neither Court nor Council Hall would ever have been brightened by his presence.

The discomfort, hardship, and hard conditions of his first sea voyage were providential agencies to wean him from embarking on an unsuitable and unprofitable career. But for one incident the details of this adventure would not be worth recalling and might be passed over in silence. It may have been that it was then he first realized his power of arguing a case and presenting it in a clear light.

Why he selected that remote port is not known, but he betook himself to Greenock and shipped as a cabin boy on board an old three-master called the *Blair Athol*. She was bound in the first place for a South American port, and destiny perhaps decreed that she should find there a fresh cargo for transport to India.

If it was a spirit of romance that led to this adventure, certainly his experiences on board this vessel were of a nature to eradicate all such sentiments. His life on the *Blair Athol* proved terribly hard. The captain was a tyrant and a brute. The crew were constantly abused and frequently punished with ruthless severity, for the old ways of the navy were still rampant on sailing barques which had few places of call and those at long intervals. Perhaps they felt, even more than the blows rained on them, the scantiness and badness of the food. It seemed marvellous that this state of things did not culminate in open mutiny.

At last the general discontent found expression, and it was Isaacs, the cabin-boy, who became the spokesman of the crew. The case was presented with conspicuous clearness and the inevitable consequences foreshadowed. As the poet has expressed it—

He who only rules by terror
Doeth grievous wrong,
Deep as Hell I count his error ;
Come listen to my song !

There were no reporters at this maiden speech, but it produced its due effect. The skipper duly impressed, or scenting personal danger, promised better treatment and better food. It seems as if the promise was kept as far as the crew were concerned, but the cabin-boy became the

special mark of the captain's subsequent resentment. This treatment proved unendurable, and at the first port the ship touched in South America, Isaacs escaped and for a brief space enjoyed, if not freedom, at least immunity from ill-treatment. He was captured by the shore authorities and brought back to his ship in accordance with international practice. No details are obtainable as to his subsequent experience at sea, and it is not known whether he reached Calcutta on the *Blair Athol* or some other vessel, to which he may have changed at a later port. But it is an accepted fact that he did reach Calcutta, and thus made, under very different conditions from those he experienced in 1921, his first acquaintance with the "city of palaces." To cite his own words on the later occasion—"There was no public banquet for me then."

On his return to England he entered his father's office, and in a short time he was sent as Agent for the firm to Magdeburg, where he had at least the opportunity of improving his knowledge of German. After some time spent there he returned to London and made a fresh start in the City by going on the Stock Exchange. Even in that busy and bustling hive he did not find contentment. His thoughts were still wandering in distant scenes. He decided to go to the United States and to carve out his own fortune in Wall Street. He was now twenty-four years of age, his own master and capable of deciding for himself. But a gentler influence intervened.

It is one of the attractive features of the Jewish character and customs, and perhaps in this virtue lies the secret of how the community has endured after so many centuries of persecution, suffering and decimation, to find marital constancy, domestic felicity, and the solidarity of families exalted in the very forefront of the duties owed in common by all the individual members to their race and religion. "Union is strength" has never found a more striking exemplification than in the case of the Jews.

At that critical moment in his life when he had almost taken his ticket for New York the gentler influence and persuasive powers of his mother, who by all accounts was

a most gifted lady, intervened to give his thoughts a new turn. She realized that it would be useless merely to oppose, and it was not in her character to plead her own desires against the settled purpose of her son if the decision he had come to was well matured, but she placed before him a new and more inviting prospect. She, of all people, must have been fully conscious of his powers. What mother ever disparaged or doubted her son's capacity, and here was one of no ordinary gifts, of no dubious attraction, seeking blindly and aimlessly perhaps for an opening to reveal them. Hers was the mission to supply light for his darkness—"My son, you are made for the Bar."

The advice touched a secret chord of inspiration, and at last the young man felt that his true goal lay straight before him. He began to read for the Bar, and for some time he was a pupil in the Chambers of Sir J. Lawson Walton, afterwards a Judge of the High Court. Whatever may be said of him in earlier days, he worked tremendously hard, with the result that he passed all his examinations with high merit, and was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1887.

As he was rather above the average age in commencing so did his rapid rise at the Bar appear prodigious. He devoted his attention chiefly to commercial cases where his city experience and his grasp of intricate financial dealings gave him a marked advantage. Even in his early days it was said of him that he promised to develop into a second Sir George Jessel, a Jewish predecessor who had become one of the most distinguished Masters of the Rolls. It became the chief object of litigants in all such cases to make sure of his being on their side. In 1898 when he had been only eleven years in practice he was nominated Queen's Counsel. Twelve years later he received his first official appointment as Solicitor-General in Mr. Asquith's Government. This happened in March, 1910, and on this occasion the *Jewish World* paid him the following well-merited tribute—

"There is no lawyer in the country, perhaps not in the

world, who is better known than Mr. Rufus Isaacs, who is certainly one of the most brilliant advocates in the history of the English Bar. Since he took silk in 1898 he has been one of the leading men in his profession, and has distinguished himself as a cross-examiner in innumerable important cases. He will not be fifty until 10th October, and he has had an interesting career. In 1898 Mr. Isaacs became a Q.C., and since then he has achieved great fame. After failing to enter Parliament for North Kensington in the year 1900, he was returned for Reading in 1904. In that constituency he has often used his eloquence and persuasive powers of speech in behalf of charity at public dinners. He is a Maccabaeon, and brother-in-law of Mr. Alfred Sutro, the eminent dramatist."

Before he took silk his thoughts had turned to a Parliamentary career which opens out wider opportunities for rewarding success at the Bar. In 1900 he made his first attempt to enter the House of Commons, standing for North Kensington at the General Election. He was not successful on this occasion, but he was not disheartened. At a by-election in 1904, he resumed the attempt with a happier result at Reading, for which he continued to sit as Member in the Liberal interest until his elevation to the Bench in 1913. There is little to be said about his Parliamentary career, but the following description of a scene at one of these elections is taken from the *Daily News* of 21st January, 1921, where it appeared in the *Parliamentary Chronicle* styled "Under the Clock"—

"It is no good to look back in life except to learn a lesson for the future, but it is good to look ahead. That is the spirit in which Lord Reading, having made a name which will go down to posterity as pre-eminent in two walks of life, boldly takes the chance of success or failure in a third. The secret of Lord Reading's success, it seems to me, lies in his absolute freedom from humbug and his power of exposing it in others.

"One of the minor successes of his life—minor that is as far as the public is concerned—was scored during his electioneering days in the borough from which he takes

his title, when he was plain Mr. Rufus Isaacs. He was speaking on Tariff Reform, and was constantly interrupted by one of the audience who cried out with monotonous regularity 'Down with the Jews!'

"For a time he ignored the interrupter, but at last stopped short, and squarely facing his opponent began in passionate and dignified periods to speak of being a Jew. Both pride and passion grew loftier as he proceeded and the audience in Reading Town Hall sat literally spell-bound. He ceased as suddenly as he had begun, and one and all, even his political opponents, leapt to their feet in thunders of applause. There is no mistaking real sincerity even on a political platform."

His selection for the responsible office of Solicitor-General in 1910 by Mr. Asquith, who, above all Prime Ministers, was best qualified to judge the legal attainments and professional merit of his law colleagues, was hailed with approbation far beyond the limited circle of the Jewish community. The *Law Journal*, the recognized organ of the Profession, gave the appointment the strongest approval in the following terms—

"The appointment of Mr. Rufus Isaacs as Solicitor-General has been hailed everywhere with acclamation, and among the profession no more popular appointment has ever been made. The great powers which this brilliant advocate and acute judge of men and affairs has applied to the vindication of private rights, will now be employed in the service of the State, and there can be no doubt that his cool judgment and shrewd intelligence will be an advantage to the country generally as well as to his Party at this period of serious Constitutional crisis. Mr. Isaacs has gained his laurels in the Courts rather than at Westminster, but the same qualities which have stood him in such good stead there—his swiftness of apprehension, his grasp of principles, his clarity of thought, and speech—will make him a force in the most businesslike of Assemblies now that he is able to apply himself to its work."

There was another remarkable feature about Mr. Isaacs' success at the Bar. He was not only successful but he

was popular. There was a magnetic quality about him that attracted goodwill. Considering the conditions of his entrance, his prodigious and dazzling success and advancement, it would not have been surprising if he had roused sentiments of envy which would have found expression in detraction and even calumny. Moreover he was a Jew, proud of his race and never backward in justifying his pride. There was nothing cringing about him. When he presided at the banquet given in May, 1900, by the Ancient Order of Maccabaeans to his namesake the Hon. J. A. Isaacs of Melbourne, he did not omit to lay emphasis on the fact that they both belonged to "one of the most ancient and noble races in existence." There were times when this boast would have been regarded as a challenge of defiance and roused feelings of resentment, but happily those days are past. Still it is remarkable that, despite these strong racial and religious sentiments running counter to the views and prejudices of the general community, the popularity of Mr. Rufus Isaacs with the members of his own profession never wavered and accompanied him throughout the whole of his legal career. It must be attributed, it may be imagined, to that good temper and sense of humour which never seemed to fail him at every period of his life. He was also entirely free of that assumption of superiority which so many ordinary members of the Bar put on to the supreme degree of superciliousness, and which, perhaps, explains the surprise with which his never-failing popularity among the juniors was often regarded.

There was one important event in his early life that claims notice. In 1887, at the time of his being called to the Bar, he married. The lady was Alice Edith, third daughter of Albert Cohen, merchant of the City of London; and the marriage proved supremely happy. What his mother had been to him in the earlier period of his life, his wife became in the later stages. It may be that age had not altogether toned down his old impetuosity, and that the restraining influence of a woman's mind often exercised a beneficial effect on his ardour. He has never failed

to seize every occasion to testify to the aid he has experienced throughout his public career from his wife, who has been his best counsellor and friend.

There may be no more suitable place to mention that there was one son of this marriage, Gerald Rufus, who was born in 1889. He went to the Bar and was called by the Middle Temple, his father's Inn. He served in the Great War with much distinction, gaining the Military Cross and the French Croix de Guerre. Since his father's elevation to the rank of Earl he has been known by the style of Viscount Erleigh, and he married in September, 1914, Eva Violet, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, M.P.

The lasting impression left on the mind by this brief record of the Viceroy's early career will be very favourable to his personal character and amiable disposition. A man in his position who attains success so rapidly and so completely as he did must be of a very unusual charm and temperament if he escapes the shafts of the envious. It may have been due to the fact that he was so completely engrossed in his work that he had no leisure to participate in the littlenesses of his profession. His business accumulated on his shoulders in such a degree that he had no time to think of anything outside it. Then it lay in a special groove, one in which he had few competitors and no rival. But beyond everything else he owed his general popularity to a suave and unruffled temper, an engaging manner, a strong sense of humour, and a good heart.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE BAR TO THE BENCH

THE appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs to the Solicitor-Generalship—for he received the honour of knighthood immediately after the appointment in accordance with custom—gave rise to a good deal of comment on his success at the Bar and the causes of his success. While some represented that the mysterious factor which men call Good Luck had had much to do with it, the great majority declared that the true secret lay in his outstanding capacity for work, and in the thoroughness with which he examined and studied every problem submitted for his elucidation. His motto was declared to be, in Solomon's words—"Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might!" Such a moment was one that naturally suggested reminiscences, and among them the following, which was not the least suggestive of the readiness with which he adapted himself to the situation.

His first appearance as a junior, it was said, was in a County Court case in which he represented a fruit merchant who was being sued by a costermonger. The costermonger, who alleged that some boxes of figs he had purchased were unfit for human food, grew angry under Mr. Isaacs' cross-examination, and said: "Look you 'ere, Guvnor! Some of those 'ere figs is in the Court, and, if you eat three of them and aren't ill in five minutes, I'll give up the bloomin' case."

The County Court Judge thought that Mr. Isaacs ought to submit to the experiment, but the young advocate, resourceful then as now, suggested that it would be more fitting for his client to accept the challenge.

"What will happen if I don't eat those figs?" whispered the fruit merchant to his Counsel.

"Probably the judgment will go against you."

"Very well, then I'll lose the case," was the unhesitating reply.

In May of the same year as his appointment he presided at the annual dinner of the Barristers' Benevolent Association which was held in Middle Temple Hall, and in reply to the congratulations offered him from all sides, he said,

"It was a distinct pleasure and delight to him to find that from those amongst whom he had spent so much of his life there was so much kindly approval and congratulation upon his appointment as Solicitor-General."

Another and very different subject was dealt with in his next public address. The sudden death of King Edward VII had produced a shock in all circles of the community and had impressed the nation with the sense of a great public loss. Expression was given to this feeling in the Courts of Law, and it fell to Sir Rufus Isaacs to speak for the Bar in support of the President of the Admiralty Court.

"On behalf of the Bar I desire to associate myself with all those expressions which have fallen from Your Lordship in reference to his late Majesty in which you have described so well his impressive personality. I desire on the part of the Bar to use very few words, and to say that we recognize we have lost a great King who loved his people and was ever working for their advantage, ever striving in the cause of Peace to promote goodwill among men and nations, and of whom it will always be said that throughout his life and up to the last moment he nobly did his duty."

Short as was the period of his tenure of the office of Solicitor-General he conducted the prosecution in several celebrated cases, of which that of the financier Whitaker Wright with its tragic termination was the most notable. In the House of Commons he took an active part in the passing of the Supreme Court of Judicature Bill which aimed at expediting the work of the Courts. He described the accumulation of arrears as amounting to a denial of justice, and in one of his speeches he laid down the goal to be attained that "we shall never be satisfied until we are able to say that the moment a case is ready for trial it may be brought before the Court and tried."

In the political arena he supported Mr. Asquith's views very closely, on both the subject of the Lords' veto and of

Free Trade. In a speech delivered to the Free Trade Union of the City of London at Cannon Street Hotel on 6th October, 1910, he concluded his remarks by asserting that "whatever might be the best fiscal policy for other nations Free Trade is the best policy for us." The next day it was announced that he had been appointed Attorney-General in succession to Sir John Rigby.

The *Law Journal* (15th Oct., 1910) commenting on this elevation to the office that carries with it the Leadership of the Bar wrote: "He has won his way to the acknowledged headship of the profession—even before he became its official Head—by combining the most zealous and industrious advocacy with that scrupulous and delicate sense of honour which are the proud boast of the Bar of England. He receives his great dignity with the good wishes and congratulations of all his contemporaries, for it is felt that he worthily fulfils all the high traditions of the Bar and that its reputation is secure in his hands."

His first public speech after this appointment was at the Guildhall Banquet on 9th November, 1910, when he replied to the toast of the Bar. His words were few "I have much gratification in replying for the Bar in this Historic Hall of the City of London with which I have been from my early life so closely associated."

As Attorney-General Sir Rufus Isaacs took a larger part in politics than he had done previously, and in July, 1911, he was raised to the Privy Council and given a place in the Cabinet. He was the first Attorney-General to receive so great an honour, and it was a recognition of his capacity to deal with the important constitutional problems which were then engrossing public attention and occupying the time of the House of Commons. But notwithstanding this greater participation in legislative affairs no one thought in those days of Sir Rufus Isaac except as a lawyer and the Leader of the Bar. His ambition seemed to be confined to his elevation to the Bench, and general opinion varied only in one detail as to whether it would be as Lord Chancellor or Lord Chief Justice. The suggestion that a Jew was disqualified for the former position had been refuted by Mr.

Gladstone, who showed that only Roman Catholics were debarred from holding the highest judicial office of all. Which it would be might be held a matter of doubt, but the goal of Sir Rufus Isaacs' further promotion seemed ensured by the rules of the profession and the laws of prescription.

At this juncture a disturbing incident supervened. Certain statements were made in connection with Stock Exchange transactions relating to the Marconi Company, and the names of Sir Rufus Isaacs and other prominent persons in the political world were introduced into the subject. It soon became clear to impartial observers that there was nothing in the affair to affect the honour and probity of the Attorney-General. Expression to this deliberate opinion was given by Sir Edward Clarke, who has been called the Bayard of the Bar, on 6th May, 1913, at the annual dinner of the Barristers' Benevolent Association at which Sir Rufus presided. The quotation is from the *Law Journal*.

"Sir Edward Clarke, in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Rufus Isaacs for presiding, said: I am grateful for the opportunity which has been given me of proposing a vote of thanks to the Attorney-General for presiding at this meeting. There have been during the last few months a good many accusations hinted at and suggested, never definitely made, against the character of the Attorney-General. Now, the usefulness of our profession, and its title to the privileges and repute that it enjoys, depend on the maintenance in our ranks of a very strict sense of honour, and I think the members of the Bar have been greatly troubled by hearing such suggestions made against our leader, and have followed with painful interest the course of the discussion. It is a matter in which we are all concerned. We share with the Attorney-General the duty of maintaining the honour of the profession, although, of course, it is upon him that the responsibility chiefly rests. Now, I have read with care all that has been proved in this matter, and I am satisfied, and I believe my brethren of the Bar agree with me, that the charge of corruption or unfaithfulness to public duty has wholly failed. If I were not so satisfied I should not be here to-day. I notice that his

assailants are now talking of mistakes and imprudence. That is a different matter. We all make mistakes, though the character of these mistakes varies with the differing circumstances of our own lives. But the important thing is that a mistake or an indiscretion leaves no stain on the character. And it is only a mean malignity that would, for personal or political motives, make use of an error of judgment to check or to deflect from its natural course a long career of private honour and of public service. I should have said this if there were between me and the Attorney-General only the bond of fellowship which comes from our both being members of the Bar. But there is much more than this. I have known him for many years—from twenty to twenty-five years—and it is because I know our leader to be a man of honour as well as an accomplished lawyer that I rejoice to be allowed to propose this vote of thanks to him to-day."

The Attorney-General, who, on rising to acknowledge the motion, which was adopted with acclamation, was greeted with loud and continued cheers, said—

"It would be affectation in me if I strove in any way to minimize the effect produced upon me by Sir Edward's graceful and most generous words when proposing that your thanks should be accorded to me to-day, and also if I failed to appreciate the words that fell from my old friend, Mr. Boydell Houghton. I naturally would like to say much. I can assure you that I feel very much, and I appreciate to the full the significance of your response to this proposal. I am most grateful to the proposer and seconder, and I am earnestly and sincerely thankful to you for the way you have received it. If I do not say any more it is not because I have not anything to say, but because I intend to pursue to the end until the proper moment comes the task which I set myself of not attempting in any way to vindicate myself against the charges which have been made, until the time has come when it would be correct and proper for me to say what is within me and what I have to keep dormant at the present moment."

This was no isolated instance of the confidence of the Bar in their Leader. At the annual banquet of the Hardwick

Society on 25th July of the same year, Lord Justice Hamilton, one of the ablest Judges on the Bench and a great stickler for professional etiquette and the honour of the Bar, expressed his opinion of the character and principles of the Attorney-General in the most emphatic terms.

"Lord Justice Hamilton, in proposing 'The Bar,' said that it was a profession to which those who had quitted its actual practice bore only the most affectionate and he might say loving remembrance as a profession which bound together all civilised countries, and particularly bound together the two great English-speaking nations of the world.

"In coupling the toast with the name of the Attorney-General, he said he had known Sir Rufus Isaacs for over five and twenty years. He had been with him, he had been against him; he had decided for him, he had decided against him; and after that he thought he might take leave to say that he knew him, and he was sure he should carry them all with him when he said that his had been a unique career, in which great gifts had been rewarded by great success. They had all known him at the Bar, where he had uniformly displayed the ardour of an athlete and the spirit of a sportsman. Very early in his career he showed that he had the capacity for taking responsibility, shouldering it without hesitation, arriving at a swift resolution, and adhering to the line he had chosen for himself. How often he had admired and envied the serene and unruffled temper which the Attorney-General possessed. Although he knew how ruthless and unremitting was the toil—*ohne Hast, aber ohne Rast*—he spent hours in mastering the facts of his cases; which was the only true way of attaining great eminence in the law. Even when provoked by an opponent in the heat of advocacy and long discussion, was there anyone who ever saw Sir Rufus Isaacs fail in courtesy, cease to be obliging and accommodating when the interests of his client permitted him to be so, or fail to be firm, good tempered and calm when it was necessary to make a stand? Since he (Lord Justice Hamilton) had been appointed to the Bench he had had

frequent opportunities of admiring the Attorney-General's command of all manner of law. It was the pleasant habit of the Bar to speak of its leaders almost in terms of affection, it was 'Dick' Webster, 'Bob' Reid, 'Sam' Evans, a distinguished succession. The name of Rufus was a little difficult. One could decline it in all cases, in all numbers and in three genders, but he did not know how it could be adapted to a diminutive or to a term of affection. But they had taken a simpler course. They did not diminish 'Rufus,' but they had dropped 'Isaacs,' and he thought that no one would fail to perceive two things; first of all, that the most natural way of alluding to the Attorney-General in a meeting of barristers was to speak of him as Rufus; and, secondly, that that little habit showed the sentiment—he might call it more than sentiment—with which the Bar regarded its distinguished Leader."

The Attorney-General, who received an ovation on rising to respond, said "that the profession of the law was the most generous and the most attractive of professions. He doubted very much whether, in comparison with any other profession or any vocation of life, they could point to any class of men who in the din of battle, in the crossing of swords, in the constant controversies which took place between them maintained that feeling of good fellowship and comradeship, which made the Bar so attractive to them all. He always cherished the memory of his early days at the Bar, and though he came as a stranger, knowing not one single student in the Inns of Court, and connected with no member of the Bar, yet he was received within a very short time by men who were only anxious to make him feel at home. Days of success came to him, as he hoped they would come to those he was addressing. No success that ever happened to a man was like the first success, and no honour which he might achieve, no position he might attain, would ever be so sweet as those first moments when he discovered that there was a path along which he might travel and command success."

It would have been more agreeable to have passed over in silence what was called the Marconi scandal, but to have

done so would have left in doubt the complete and unqualified clearing of the Attorney-General's reputation and the establishment of his honour and integrity. It so happened that a very few weeks after this incident was closed the long expected occasion of showing what was thought on the subject by his colleagues and the country arrived. Lord Alverstone, who had filled the office of Lord Chief Justice for a great many years, resigned on the ground of ill-health, and on 20th October, 1913, the appointment of Sir Rufus Isaacs as his successor was publicly announced. There had been an anticipatory revelation of what the Bar's feelings were on the subject of the succession to Lord Alverstone in the remarkable ovation paid to the Attorney-General in the Procession of the Judges at the opening of the Law Courts on 13th October, a week earlier.

The following passages from the leading article in *The Times* of 20th October on his appointment will be read with interest—

“He possesses all the natural qualities which go to make him a worthy successor to the great Chief Justices of the past. Public opinion, indeed, had destined for him the place so long—and we recommend this practical consideration to those who cavil at the appointment—that his exclusion from it after all that has happened would have been such an admission of collective guilt as no Government could be expected to make if it intended to remain in office. For our own part we trust and believe that his career on the Bench, when it comes to be reckoned up, will be no less distinguished than his astonishing career at the Bar. Meanwhile it can only be regarded as a great misfortune that an absorbing controversy should have brought hesitation, and discord, into what would otherwise have been a unanimous chorus of approval.”

The *Law Journal* in “a special memoir” in its issue of 25th October, 1913, passed his meteoric career in appreciative review.

“With the cordial approval, not only of the members of the legal profession, with whom he is universally popular, but also the public, who have long learned to appreciate his

legal attainments and many high qualities, Sir Rufus Isaacs has been appointed to succeed Lord Alverstone in the Lord Chief Justiceship, the highest purely judicial office in the land. During the past one hundred years the office of Lord Chief Justice has had eight occupants—Ellenborough, Tenterden, Denman, Campbell, Cockburn, Coleridge and Alverstone—and not one of these distinguished men brought to it a larger store of professional and personal gifts. None of them, at any rate, reached it through a worthier or more romantic career. It is through sheer hard work, combined with forensic gifts of the highest order and personal qualities of a most attractive kind, that Sir Rufus Isaacs has won his way to the great position to which he has been appointed at the early age of fifty-three. He belongs to a race which has given the world some of its finest legal intellects. Sir George Jessel, whose name stands out pre-eminent in the list of modern Masters of the Rolls, was the first Jew to become an English Judge, and Sir Rufus Isaacs, who has been appointed to the chair of Mansfield, is the second member of his race to become one of His Majesty's judges.

“About the early days of the Lord Chief Justice there was little apart from his determination and independence to suggest the achievement of his later days. A son of the late Mr. Joseph Isaacs, a member of a well-known London firm of fruit merchants, he was born on 10th October, 1860, and was educated at University College School, at Brussels, and at Hanover. A spirit of adventure led him, soon after the completion of his schooldays, to abandon the comfortable prospect of entering his father's office, and to obtain a berth as ‘boy’ on a Scottish vessel, *The Blair Athol*, trading to Rio de Janeiro with coal. A year or so later, after he had endured, none too willingly, the hardships that belong to life before the mast, he went to Magdeburg as agent for his father's firm, and in this position, which he occupied for about two years, he acquired a knowledge of mercantile life which was, no doubt, of considerable use to him when he started his career at the Bar. His subsequent experiences as a member of the Stock Exchange, though they did not immediately make for success, were equally

valuable to him when he adopted the profession in which he was destined to rise to so eminent a place. It was in 1887 that, reading with the late Sir John Lawson Walton, he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple. After a certain experience of County Court work, he quickly made his way into the foremost rank of the Junior Bar, and in 1898, only eleven years after he was called, he was appointed a Q.C. From this point his career was extraordinary in its rapidity. At first his work as a leader lay chiefly in the Commercial Court, where the late Mr. Justice Walton, then the leader of the Court, was his principal opponent. It was in 1900, when Sir Edward Carson's appointment as Solicitor-General occasioned his withdrawal from the ordinary work of the Courts, that the new Lord Chief Justice leapt into that commanding position at the Bar which he showed he was so well qualified to hold. His Parliamentary career began in 1904, when he was returned for Reading, the constituency for which he has continued to sit. His first appointment as a Law Officer was in the early part of 1910 when, upon the promotion of Sir Samuel Evans to the presidency of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, he became Solicitor-General. Some six months later, upon the appointment of Sir William Robson as Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, he succeeded to the Attorney-Generalship, his tenure of which will always be notable because he was the first occupant of the office to be made a Cabinet Minister.

"These are the main facts of the new Lord Chief Justice's career. The qualities by which he has gained so high a place in the most competitive calling in the world may be stated less baldly. Sir Rufus Isaacs did not achieve his forensic success by any extraordinary gifts of eloquence. He has not had at his command the polished rhetoric of a Coleridge or the passionate oratory of a Russell. Not that he lacks the gift of impressive speech. Lord Bowen once described Russell as an "elemental force," and there have been occasions calling for some passionate note on which the phrase might not inaptly have been applied to Sir Rufus Isaacs. As a speaker, however, he has, except on very rare

occasions, been content to be lucid rather than eloquent, persuasive rather than dazzling.

Though deep, yet clear ; though gentle, yet not dull ;
Strong without rage ; without o'erflowing, full.

“ His real strength as an advocate has lain in his swift and easy grasp of facts, in his unerring sense of what is essential and tactful, and in his remarkable powers of cross-examination. No advocate of modern times has shown a readier skill in the handling of witnesses. Others may have been more drastic in their methods, but none has used the art of cross-examination more effectively as a means of eliciting the truth. His style of advocacy, whether in addressing a jury in a sensational case, or in arguing an important point of law before a judge, has been marked by a wholesome disregard of the pedantic and technical. He has always fought on the large points rather than on the small, and has conducted his cases with so fine a sense of fairness that, when he has triumphed even ‘ the ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear to cheer.’

“ With the Bar the relations of the new Lord Chief Justice have always been most happy. He has displayed a camaraderie which has made him immensely popular with all ranks of the profession. Even when the pressure of his enormous practice has been most heavy his cheeriness of mood and sense of comradeship, appreciated by the humblest junior no less than by his nearest rival, have never deserted him. Unlike the Serjeant in the *Canterbury Tales*, he has seemed less busy than he was, and has always found time for those little touches of intimate courtesy which make a great leader of the Bar so popular with his fellows. The affectionate regard in which the new Lord Chief Justice is held by the Bar has frequently been expressed by its leaders. Speaking at a dinner given in honour of Sir Rufus Isaacs, when he was appointed Attorney-General, Sir John Simon used these words : ‘ It is his warm-hearted willingness to be friendly to his juniors, more than even his splendid qualities of intellect, which has caused his appointment as head of the profession to be welcomed by every member of

the Bar.' His doughtiest opponent, Sir Edward Carson, who was present on the same occasion, observed that Sir Rufus 'had always preserved the highest traditions of the Bar of England, and that, though he hit hard, he never hit below the belt.'

" 'The surest way of finding out whether a man is a good fellow,' Sir John Holker once said to Lord James of Hereford, 'is to see whether, after a hard day's fighting at *nisi prius*, you want to walk back from Westminster to the Temple with him.' Sir Rufus Isaacs never had an opponent who did not desire to walk homewards with him. The warm tribute which Sir Edward Carson paid to Sir Rufus Isaacs at the annual meeting of the Barristers' Benevolent Association is so fresh in the memory of the profession that it need not be further recalled. The high regard in which Sir Rufus Isaacs has been held by the Bench was fitly expressed by Lord Sumner of Ibstone at the recent Hardwicke banquet, when he described him as having uniformly shown at the Bar, "the ardour of an athlete and the spirit of a sportsman." The possession of the qualities to which these tributes have been paid—the unremitting industry, the large knowledge of legal principles, the ready grasp of facts, the innate sense of fairness, the serenity of temper and the dignity of demeanour which Sir Rufus Isaacs has always displayed at the Bar—makes it certain that he will worthily maintain the highest traditions of the historic office which he now fills."

The following description of the Swearing In of the new Lord Chief Justice on 20th October, 1913, is of interest—

After the Lord Chief Justice had taken the oaths, the Lord Chancellor (Lord Haldane) said that he "would like in accordance with precedent, as the head of the Judiciary, to say a few words. The Bench and Bar had assembled to witness the introduction of the new Lord Chief Justice of England and to take farewell of one whom he had long known, and whom illness had prevented from remaining with them. He would speak first of the new Lord Chief Justice. Some of them had known him for a quarter of a century. There was no relationship more searching, none in which

more intimate knowledge of a man was obtained, than in the case of a man with whom one was brought into the intimate daily contact of legal life. To a commanding grasp of the various branches of his profession Sir Rufus Isaacs added other qualities. It was not often that one found such a combination of a mastery of the law with such keenness in dealing with facts as was found in Sir Rufus Isaacs. He was a man whose highest desire had been to do right between man and man ; he was a man of the highest honour and of the highest desire to ensure truth when it could be ensured."

One of the immediate consequences of his elevation to the Bench was that Sir Rufus Isaacs ceased to represent Reading. His retirement was conveyed in the following letter—

"Dear Mr. Brain,—You will already have become aware that I have been appointed to the high and responsible office of Lord Chief Justice of England, and that in consequence the honourable trust confided to me by my constituents, more than nine years ago, must be resigned into their hands. Greatly as I appreciate the new honour and dignity which have been conferred upon me, and highly as I value the prospect of serving the State in a judicial capacity, I sincerely and profoundly regret that the political ties that bound me to Reading must be severed. The closing of a happy chapter of one's life is usually accompanied by regrets, however bright may be the prospect of the future.

"I have been returned at five successive elections, and have sat in four Parliaments, as member for Reading. From the outset the relations between Reading and myself have been founded upon mutual trust and esteem, and I think I may say that, as time passed and our acquaintance grew, these relations ripened into affectionate attachment. They have been so harmonious and so intimate that I am saddened by the thought that, although many warm personal friendships will remain, the close and unbroken political association between Reading and myself must now cease. Those who have been my political supporters have accorded me full measure of help and encouragement ; they have

not only shown indomitable energy and enthusiasm at each of the five elections in which we have been concerned, but equally in the intervals of preparation they have never failed to prove their resolute loyalty, and have always been ready to maintain their political faith at the cost of their time and personal interests, and have made generous sacrifices in order that I might be free to devote myself to my Parliamentary and Ministerial duties.

"Whilst adhering to the political views which gained for me the support of the majority of my constituents, I trust that I have striven also, to the best of my ability, to further the interests of the borough which it has been my fortunate lot to represent throughout my parliamentary career. My political opponents have fought steadily and valiantly on all occasions, but never with malice or rancour, and have consistently shown me a marked and kindly consideration. Certainly I know that when any promotion or honour has come to me my own pleasure has been greatly enhanced by the evident satisfaction of my constituents as a whole, without distinction of party.

"Painful to me as is the final severance of our political relations, yet in bidding you farewell I am consoled by the consciousness that for the rest of my life I shall preserve a deeply grateful recollection of the people of Reading, whether electors or not, and of all that my association with them has meant to me, as well as by the reflection that in the future I may still be able to prove my continued interest in the borough and devotion to all of those whom I have been proud to serve."

At the Guildhall banquet held on 8th November, 1913, he replied to the toast for the Judges of England and the reader will observe the strong racial and religious note that rang through his discourse—

"The Lord Chief Justice, responding on behalf of the Bench to the toast of 'The Judges and the Bar of England' at the Guildhall banquet said: You will, I am sure, forgive me if, before I say a word on behalf of my brother judges, I give utterance to two thoughts which are foremost in my mind at this moment, when I stand here, in this historic

hall of the ancient City, and address you in response to the toast so felicitously proposed. The first is that I count it indeed fortunate, and, may I say, appropriate, that my first public utterance outside the Courts of Justice should be made here in the City—bound as I am to the City by memories of my early youth, my early associations and training ; and remembering, as I do, that much of what has stood me in good stead in my life in later years was learnt in the City and amongst business men. The second is, you may perhaps think, a little more irrelevant, but I am in my infancy as a judge, and, therefore, you must forgive me if I stray a little into irrelevancy. I cannot address you here to-night in the City without recalling that I should not be here, occupying this position at this moment, if it were not for the great struggles of the City—now so many years ago—in the cause of religious liberty. I should be ungrateful, indeed, if I allowed this opportunity to pass without reminding you that, first of all, it was the City that insisted upon members of my community being members of your Corporation. And it was the City, again, that led the struggle for representation by members of my community in the House of Commons. If I have strayed for a moment into those paths which, perhaps, are not peculiarly appropriate for the toast to which I am responding, it is because I should think that I were false to everything that is within me if I did not give utterance to these sentiments, remembering as I do that memories so quickly fade, and that, when a whole nation now agrees that there should be the fullest religious liberty and toleration, that was not the case when the City fought the battle which placed me here. I am privileged to speak for the judges. I know them from observation at the Bar more than in my association with them as judges. I know them from practising before them for so long, and it is, perhaps, for that reason that I may respond for them with less restraint, as I am accustomed, or have hitherto been accustomed, to take my place at the Bar, where there was greater freedom of expression, where impartiality was not a virtue, and silence was not golden. Now, in the very fact of which I am an illustration, at the

Bar yesterday, on the Bench to-day ; at one moment fighting with or against opponents at the Bar, who never become enemies but only opponents, and the next either addressing them or being addressed on the Bench ; where we know all their qualities ; where, when I was at the Bar I used to say I knew their defects, and where, now I am on the Bench, though I am sure I shall not hear it, I know there will be many at the Bar who know my defects. In responding for the judges, I am privileged to say, from the little that I have yet seen, that it is indeed an honour to associate with them in the dispensation of justice. My predecessor, Viscount Alverstone, to whom so eloquent a tribute was paid recently by the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General, was a man who devoted, not only the best of his abilities, but the best of his strength, to furthering the cause of justice. He never spared himself, he never learned the meaning of economizing his forces. Although I would not for one moment presume to add anything, and could not add anything, to what was so well said on a recent occasion, I may be permitted to say—coming straight as I do to-day from the Court of Criminal Appeal, over which he presided in the early days, and in which he did such excellent work, and in which he was so well and ably assisted by his brother judges—that I am quite sure that this Court, which in my humble judgment does such excellent work, was one to which Lord Alverstone devoted the best of his abilities and energies. Whatever his views may have been as to the necessity for the Court, from the moment that the Act of Parliament was passed, he laboured unweariedly and unremittingly to make it a success, and to make it a Court to which everyone would come with the absolute conviction and certainty that, as far as it was possible with reference to any human being, justice would be administered there with one single purpose, namely, that of doing right. I might be tempted to indulge in some speculation as to what the result will be of the Royal Commission which His Majesty appointed to inquire into the causes of delay in the King's Bench Division, but I shall not attempt to do so. I am quite certain that that Commission will have laboured to produce

recommendations which we shall consider with the utmost respect—recommendations and views which I know that my brother judges will attempt, not only to consider, but to give effect to if possible, and that the only view which they would put forward at this moment is that the judges of England are animated by one single purpose—to serve the highest public interests of the State, and to do what in them lies to promote the course of justice, and in that way to do good and satisfy the public demands of the community. I know very well it is easy to criticize judges, but it should always be remembered that it is the function of the judges who preside in the Law Courts to interpret the laws and administer them, and that they must leave the function of making the laws to Parliament, which is responsible.

Perfection can never be attained by human beings, but we can labour, as I believe we have laboured, and as I am sure judges will labour in the future, to make justice swift, and yet not hurried—for justice in haste is, in my opinion, justice in jeopardy. Above all, whilst administering justice and passing judgment upon the actions of men, we shall always remember that justice is never less in peril than when it is tempered by mercy.”

The dignity of Lord Chief Justice, in recent times, having always carried with it a seat in the House of Lords, Sir Rufus Isaacs was in due course created by His Majesty the King-Emperor Baron Reading of Erleigh. The date of the creation was 9th January, 1914. The first occasion on which he addressed a public meeting after his elevation to the House of Peers was at a dinner given on 21st January, 1914, by the Jewish community to celebrate this signal honour to their race and religion.

The report of this incident forms a fit conclusion to this chapter.

The Chairman, in proposing the toast of the evening, said “the elevation of Lord Reading marked an epoch in the history of this country. Lord Reading was not only the first British subject of their race to hold this exalted position, but as Attorney-General he was the first occupant of that office who was given a seat in the Cabinet. Surely

this country had given an object lesson in the emancipation of thought that could not but make for the highest civilization. And the Lord Chief Justice had gained his position through sheer merit."

The Lord Chief Justice, in reply, said that "what they were celebrating was not the fact that he as an individual was Lord Chief Justice of England; it was that they desired, rightly, to chronicle in their annals the fact that he happened to be the first of the Jewish community to be appointed to that position. He had been astounded at the extraordinary interest which this had excited among members of the Jewish community throughout the world. Its consequence was of the greatest importance in this connection, that it established the fact that there was no bar, by reason of religion or race, to the position which a man might attain to in this country, not even the Lord Chancellorship."

CHAPTER III

HIGH COMMISSIONER AND AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

WHENEVER the most successful and leading barrister becomes Lord Chief Justice of England it is assumed that he has attained the height of his ambition, and that his thoughts and efforts will be confined thenceforth to maintaining the high traditions of his office. There is no example to the contrary, and there is no reason to suppose for a moment that Lord Reading had any other idea in his head than to prove himself a worthy successor of Cockburn, Russell, and Alverstone. Such no doubt would have been the case but for the cataclysm in human affairs that attended the Great War. Yet even after it had commenced the judicial sphere seemed the least likely to be disturbed by its shocks. Justice had to pursue its straight and even way, the atmosphere of the Courts preserved the calm and low temperature suitable to their functions, and judges seemed immune from the consequences of the international struggle that was raging everywhere outside. And such was the truth with one exception. The exception was Lord Reading. Fate had reserved for him strange destinies and experiences.

He had been Lord Chief Justice little more than nine months when the Germans invaded Belgium and France. It was an extraordinary tribute to his financial capacity that he was at once called into council on the pressing problems of currency and credit which were scarcely less urgent and imperative than the question of producing armed men. Lord Reading was at once placed on a committee dealing with currency and finance, and from August, 1914, till the summer of the following year, his room at the Treasury saw more of him than the Court of King's Bench. Some intimation of the importance of these services was afforded when his investiture with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath was announced in February, 1915. This unusual mark of distinction, as everyone realised, was not bestowed

without some very good reason, but as everything was kept dark in those days only a privileged few knew what he had been doing.

It was not long before a little more light was cast on the subject. In August, 1915, he accompanied the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he went to Boulogne to discuss finance with M. Ribot, the French Finance Minister, and a week later it was recorded that he had left for the United States, accompanied by two French colleagues, on what was called the Anglo-French Mission. The British and French Governments were in complete accord and had come to a joint agreement, and the object of the mission was to obtain a loan of one hundred millions, which sum was to be spent on their joint account in the purchase of much needed munitions in the United States, and thus the transfer of funds which would inevitably shake confidence and disturb the exchange was avoided. It is interesting to recall that Sir Henry Babington Smith and Mr. (now Sir) B. P. Blackett accompanied Lord Reading, thus showing how directly India was concerned in the topics discussed. The mission proved a complete success, and M. Ribot, in the French Senate, announced that "the Americans were going to give a tangible proof of their real sympathy with the Allies." It was generally admitted that the speedy success of this mission was due to Lord Reading's tact and superior knowledge of financial matters.

After his return from this first mission to the United States Lord Reading reverted to his dual work in the Court of King's Bench and at the Treasury, but little was heard of his activities, which were unremitting, until in June, 1916, his name appearing among the Birthday Honours with his elevation to the rank of Viscount told its own tale. In July and August of that year he took part in the discussions with M. Bark, the Russian Finance Minister, about the financial troubles of that unhappy State gradually falling into the abyss of chaos, and he was also present at the interview at Calais between the French and British Premiers. But his most noteworthy contribution in public during this year was his grave and emphatic

warning against indulging the hope that the War would be brought to a conclusion very shortly. Speaking at Reading he sought to dispel this mischievous optimism by declaring—

“I think that the man who believes that we are at the end of the sacrifices to be made in this war is living in a fool's paradise. I believe that we shall have to go through more than we have hitherto had to suffer before we emerge in safety and see victory assured.”

In the spring of the year 1917 the death of Mr. Joseph Choate, an eminent American barrister who was one of the greatest authorities on International Law, and who had been for a short time Ambassador in England, provided the occasion for the following tribute. Lord Reading touched incidentally on the great assistance Mr. Choate had rendered him during his first mission in 1915. This memorial tribute was delivered in the Lord Chief Justice's Court on 16th May, 1917 —

“We desire in this Court to pay a tribute of respect, admiration, and affection to the memory of Joseph Choate, whose death we are now lamenting. Joseph Choate was above everything a lawyer; he was cradled in the law, he loved his profession and followed it to the end except for a comparatively short period. He was not only an American lawyer, but he was a Bencher of the Middle Temple. He was also a great Ambassador and one of the most distinguished citizens of the United States of America. He occupied a unique position. To many of them he was almost as well known in this country as in America. He deserted the Law to become Ambassador here. There was no doubt that when he accepted that position he was influenced by the belief that he could assist in bringing about better relations between America and Great Britain. Choate worked for that better relationship during the whole of the time that he was here. As a speaker they remembered him as one who was graceful and eloquent in his orations. He was dignified and lofty in his more serious utterances and he had the charm of humour in his lighter efforts. Throughout all there could always be traced one great ideal—co-operation between our two nations. When the Great

War began there was never any doubt about the sympathies of Joseph Choate. They were soon translated into direct wishes expressed for the victory of the Allies' cause.

"In 1915, when the Anglo-French Mission went to the United States no one man did more to assist in the success of that mission than Joseph Choate. From the first moment that the Mission arrived he set himself to assist in its success. How much more we owed to him in later days that was not the moment and place to discuss. To him was vouchsafed the supreme satisfaction in the full years to which he had attained of assisting in the last few weeks of his life in the common cause in which America had entered with this country and her Allies. He had witnessed the co-operation so long desired between America and Great Britain."

In September, 1917, Lord Reading left for the United States on a special financial mission. The United States had at that time come into the War, and was¹ making preparations to take part in the struggle on land as well as at sea which she began to do immediately after her Declaration. A leading article in *The Times* on this mission contained this passage.

"We understand that the selection of the Lord Chief Justice was primarily due to a hint that he would be *persona gratissima* to the Washington Administration. This can be well understood in view of the great success which attended Lord Reading's earlier mission in 1915 when arrangements were made for the first American loan jointly to this country and France. Not only did Lord Reading's thorough familiarity with our financial problems stand him in good stead on that occasion with the American bankers, but the strength of the personal impression made by him on the men of business with whom he came in contact, and through them on the American public was the subject of emphatic comment in all circles. This impression has evidently been a lasting one."

As the United States was now associated with the Allies in their common cause there was less need of reticence than on the earlier occasion when America was still neutral, and

¹ By a decree of Congress United States is singular.

on his arrival at New York Lord Reading felt at liberty to make the following statement through the Press—

“Great as is the material assistance which you are contributing to the cause it is not of greater value than your moral stimulus to those who after three long years have been engaged in a continuous conflict, and who have made a daily and hourly sacrifice of blood and treasure surpassing the wildest notions of pre-war prophets. Whatever these sacrifices we have never faltered, and depend upon it we shall not falter. Encouraged by your genius, your unquenchable spirit, we shall win this war for democracy, and dig the grave of military tyranny.”

This mission was as successful as its predecessor, and its effects embraced Canada as well as Great Britain. Sir Robert Borden met Lord Reading in New York and participated in certain decisions, and Lord Reading completed his journey by visiting Ottawa and Toronto, where he made speeches dilating on the moral effect of the United States' having come into the War, and calling for greater unity in action. A few weeks later the conclusion of this important and triumphant mission was announced by a brief and simple paragraph in the papers stating that the Lord Chief Justice would resume his sittings in his Court on 19th November. There was nothing to convey the idea that he had “come, seen and conquered,” but a few days later clearer proof was given of the success of his mission in the announcement that the King-Emperor had elevated Viscount Reading to an Earldom.

A greater occasion for public service and personal distinction was at hand. He had only resumed his judicial duties six weeks when it became known that he was returning to the United States, and this time as the fully accredited representative of his country, the titular Ambassador having retired through ill-health. On 8th January, 1918, it was officially announced that Lord Reading had been appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor to be “His Majesty's High Commissioner in the United States of America in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary on special mission.”

The appointment was commented on in a leading article in *The Times* as follows—

“The appointment of the Lord Chief Justice of England to be British High Commissioner in the United States is remarkable in many respects. It recalls a proud period in English history when English judges were, as he is, versed in statecraft, and it gives evidence of a desire in the Government to make use of indisputable financial and diplomatic ability. The ground for an exercise of these abilities has been prepared in a way with which the British public is well acquainted, and it is known that few men in England would be received more cordially in America than Lord Reading. His career in all its changes has been typical of the man. In several directions it has been marked by an ability approaching genius; in others it has been characterized by a discretion which will be useful in his new and responsible position.”

The appointment was pronounced to be without precedent at least in modern times—the nearest approach to it having been when Sir Alexander Cockburn, a former Lord Chief Justice, was appointed to represent England at the Geneva Conference on the subject of the Alabama Claims.

Replying to the congratulations of the Bar expressed by the Solicitor-General, Sir Gordon Hewart, in his Court on 11th January, 1918, Lord Reading spoke as follows—

“Mr. Solicitor,—I cannot adequately thank you for the observations which you have just made and for the wishes which you have so kindly expressed to me on behalf of the Bar of England. You have spoken so felicitously of the relations between this country, and in particular of the link—the strong link of the law—between America and England that I will add but a few words. With you I think it not inappropriate that the holder of my office should proceed to America at this juncture on the mission to which his Majesty has graciously appointed me. America, like us, frames its law on the Common Law of England. Their laws are based on the same ideals of justice and liberty as ours. Their laws have the same origin and customs as those of the English people; they are administered with

the same traditions ; and in this struggle for justice and liberty it does appear to me that there may be more reason than is perhaps apparent at first sight for the selection of the holder of my office to proceed to America, for after all, with my brother judges, I am the custodian of the Common Law of England. When I go to America it appears to me that with our Allies I go for this country engaged in the administration of Justice and in the preservation of liberty according to the laws of humanity and civilization.

“ When I was invited to undertake this great task I need not tell the members of my profession that I gave the most anxious thought to the question whether it was fitting that I should discharge these duties while holding my present office. You have said that there is no precedent. To me that is not the answer as indeed it is not for you, Mr. Solicitor, speaking for the Bar. There is no precedent for the present time. Precedents must, therefore, be made if the exigencies of the circumstances require them. What weighed most with me was that the service asked was in the national interest, not for a section of the nation, not for a political party, not for a particular class, but for a united nation which speaks with one voice. I am going the more willingly because it is to America—a country animated by the same ideals as our own.

“ I trust that the labours in which we are now engaged will be conducive to a peace which would be the lasting one for which America and ourselves were continuing to labour, and that when peace had come America and this country would thereafter work continuously for the abolition of war, for the establishment of peace for the benefit of humanity and those higher laws of morality and humanity, which we believed would be safeguarded by the purifying and ennobling sacrifices which had been made by this country, and which were now being made and must be made in the future by America.”

Immediately on his arrival at New York on 10th February, Lord Reading made the following statement to the Press—

“ Let me impress upon you that when I left England the

determination to carry the War to the end was as fixed as ever. The British people are willing to face the critical months before us, perhaps the most critical of the War, with grim tenacity. They are prepared to endure whatever suffering, privation or sacrifices that may be necessary to obtain the only possible conclusion of the War. That the American people are equally prepared to exert every effort to bring about this result is the surest guarantee that the cause is just and the aim righteous."

Three days later (13th February) on presenting his letters of credence to President Wilson he gave expression to the same views. His remarks read as follows—

"My President, I have the honour by command of the King, my august Sovereign, to deliver you the letter appointing me his High Commissioner to the United States of America, and accrediting me to you as his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary on special mission.

"His Majesty has directed me to express to you, Mr. President, his earnest wish that the cordial relations which happily exist and have so long existed between Great Britain and the United States of America, and now especially strengthened by the whole-hearted co-operation of the two nations in a great common cause, may for ever be maintained, and may even gain strength. These relations have their surest foundations in the ideals and traditions which animate the minds of both peoples. It will be my constant endeavour to carry out to the utmost of my power the high mission confided to me, and to act in accordance with the spirit of the distinguished men who have preceded me in representing the Sovereign of my country.

"I am sure that in discharging the duties of my mission I shall find the greatest assistance in the hearty accord of the administration which is inspired by an ardent and sincere desire to co-operate in bringing the present conflict to a successful issue, thereby establishing the principles of liberty and justice between all nations. May I be permitted to add in expressing my sincere respect for you personally that I am expressing the sentiments of my Sovereign and his people generally?"

From that time onwards throughout the critical spring and summer of the year 1918, Lord Reading was unremitting in his efforts to instruct the American public about the causes and aims of the War, and to stimulate, so far as in him lay, the zeal of the American people in giving the struggle a decisively victorious turn. One of the earliest opportunities he found was at the Pilgrims' Dinner at New York on 5th March, when his words evoked immense enthusiasm, the audience rising spontaneously at their conclusion. He declared his conviction that, as President Wilson had stated—

“America would never draw back. If Great Britain had again to-day to make the momentous decision for honour, her decision, though she would be fully conscious of the rivers of blood that would flow from it, would be the same as in August, 1914.”

Two days later he paid a fine tribute to President Wilson in an address to the Merchants' Association of New York—

“No human being has the faculty of stating in better language the true nature of the moral ideals of this country in the prosecution of the War than your President who speaks for you. We in Europe have learned to look to those words of his and cherish them as representing to us the unalterable determination of America, once it has commenced to wage war in vindication of right, never to sheathe the sword until it has conquered. We know that the words spoken by your President are words upon which we can build, and we do build on them. They are messages of hope and comfort to us.”

Lord Reading always struck the right note to win the suffrages and sympathy of American audiences. To one he said, “These are days of reality. It is the ultimate victory that will be the last act. We have but one idea ‘Win the War.’”

To another assembly, this time at Chicago, he exhorted those present to—

“Think of Belgium, conquered as to her land, but unvanquished in spirit. Think of France ravaged and depopulated! All glory to her!”

The greatest and most eloquent of his speeches at this time was that he delivered at the Memorial Hall at Washington on 9th April, on the origin of the War—

“ We were under no illusions, but when Germany with unexampled ferocity and unparalleled depravity determined to strike through Belgium, and that Belgian men, women, and children should be sacrificed to terrorism, which is the great German ideal, then England knew the moment had come when this great power of Germany must be taught that treaties were made to be observed, that conventions were sacred words of honour, and that we in England were bound, like Germany, to protect the neutrality of Belgium, and that we were bound by the same Treaty as they were bound. We did not invade Belgium, but we said to Germany, ‘ You do this thing at your peril ; England is in.’

“ Without a moment’s thought of the cost England threw everything she had into the melting pot in this contest, and said, ‘ Come what may, at least as a nation we shall be true to our honour which demands of us that we defend it, and that we should fight the German Government to the very last.’

“ What has been the history of your own country, you who are so far away from the conflict ? Three thousand miles of sea were between you and the country where this devastation, so difficult to describe even when you have seen it, was being waged by German hordes who swept over the fair lands of France. You watched, you weighed, you considered, not from fear, but because there were great responsibilities naturally upon you, and upon those who were your leaders equally as upon ours. Every attempt was made that was possible, and that was right, in order that there should be no conflict between you and the German Government. There were moments when your very soul stirred with indignation at what was happening. There came eventually after interchanges of notes, there came acts which made it impossible for you as a self-respecting nation, according to the view of your President, to abstain from taking part in the conflict, and thereupon America stepped into the War, and with it the whole plane of the conflict was raised because we knew perfectly well, and Europe

knows, and those who do not know it will have to learn, and will learn it, that America has only fought and will only fight for liberty, that she will never fight for aggression or world-domination, that her great ideal of liberty and democracy was that for which alone she would draw the sword. As in the past so now, once it is drawn, as we know from the speeches made by your President, when you once have started, and it has been made clear that only force can rule, as Germany has taken care to make apparent to every one, then it is only with force that she can be met, it is only with the sword that she will be met.

"Make your people realize the War. We who have been engaged in it from the first, we in England who have seen the war carried over her by Zeppelin and aeroplane, and by the bombardment of defenceless towns, do not fail to understand what the War is, but it is more difficult when you are far away. The other evening I stood at the door of the Embassy, here in Washington, seeing a guest out. Then I noticed it was evening, and the guest turned to me and said, "Yes, isn't it a beautiful night?" Unwittingly it came to me at once that it was a beautiful night, a very clear moonlight night, because to us Englishmen that means almost certainly there will be an air raid, and defenceless men, women and children are to be killed. And so strongly does it eat into you that I tell you that the realization of a beautiful night here produced the same thought to me, three thousand miles away, as it would have produced on my own doorstep in London in England.

"We know what war means. We have our wounded brought home. We see trains of them. We see them, I was going to say, in every street. We have our losses, our casualties. We have had them for a long time. We have all suffered, we have all to pay tribute, every one of us, in one form or other. Every one of us has had to lose somebody, we have all our own in the field of battle. All we care for is there. All our eyes and hearts are strained to the utmost watching what is happening as we read the news. To-day what is happening on the battlefield brings home to us sure knowledge that all we care for is there at the front.

I only tell you that you may understand, that you may know as well as we what it all means.

"You will say to yourselves, as very likely others are saying to themselves, 'Is it worth it?' The answer is 'Yes, it is worth it, and worth doing it again and again.' It would not be worth it if we were fighting for territory, if we were merely fighting for the aggrandisement of our power over another, but it is worth it if we realize that we are fighting for liberty and justice. To my mind this war is the challenge of brute force to justice. It means that liberty is to be crushed by military despotism if Germany can triumph. It means that if we succeed, if you and we Allies win the victory, as we most certainly shall, then it means that justice and liberty will triumph; it will mean that that which is becoming almost the equal of a religion with all of us—the cause for which we are fighting, the great conflict by which we hope, in your President's words, to make the world safe for democracy, the great contest in which we are all striving, as we know, to take care that justice shall be done as between nations—shall triumph. Then lend all your aid and all your power to that end."

Lord Reading's activity was unceasing. He had not only to instruct and enlighten, but he had to keep a just balance between optimism and pessimism. Addressing the New York Bar Association on 14th May, 1918, he made what was described, in the American newspapers, as a timely appeal to his distinguished audience to help in striving to repress what he could not but consider as a tendency of human nature to swing towards false optimism.

He went on to say, "The emergency has not passed, and therefore every assistance that American troops can render is needed now. We know perfectly well in our country that we have been deluded over and over again by lulls in the battles into thinking that an offensive was over at least for the time, and that the crisis had passed. We have been wrong, and we should be wrong now if we thought that the crisis had passed. It never will be passed until victory has been won. We know at home that if we make preparations far ahead, so that we should be ready to meet any emergency,

we are taking the best possible means for encountering any new crisis which may arise."

A few days afterwards he left for Canada accompanied by the eminent American publicist, Elihu Root. Speaking to a great meeting at Toronto he declared—

"We are standing, for the first time in the history of the Empire and of the United States, together fighting in one great cause, having forgotten the old difficulties between us, having shed all prejudices and realizing that we are both champions of democracy, justice, and liberty. When the War is ended and when the only peace that we will ever contemplate has come, when victory has at last resulted for our cause, I can see on the horizon not only Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and all the British Empire, but I see associated with it all the English-speaking peoples of the world, each with our traditions, with our ideals, with our visions of liberty, with our determination to secure justice, with our regard for the weak and our desire to protect their liberties. I see all this not as a dream, but as a reality which is as certain to come as victory in this war, and we shall be able to achieve benefits for humanity which baffle all description, and which will always have as their end the bettering of the conditions of peoples throughout the world, and the securing of a just and lasting peace for all civilization."

The Red Cross Campaign at Washington began with a "British Night." *The Times* Correspondent wrote—

"Lord Reading, whose every appearance in public arouses the greatest enthusiasm, brought an audience of 10,000 people at Liberty Hut to its feet when he said—

'Events have quickened. You know how your President determined, and General Pershing stood with him, so that American troops might take part in the battle at once, to brigade them with the French and British armies. It will always be remembered by the Allies that when their great need came your young men took their places side by side with the French and the British to shed their blood and ennoble and glorify their souls. The dollar you give may be just the dollar that saves a young man's life, perhaps,

the life of a relative of yours. No one has the tongue to tell the wonderful work of the Red Cross, and I doubt if anyone can parallel the wonderful words of your President concerning it in his speech at New York the other day. No man can read President Wilson's address on that occasion without his blood running warmer. 'Give, Give, until it hurts. You will be serving not only humanity but God.' No compliment so touches a British heart as a compliment from the United States. I doubt if America realizes the hold she has on us. I have often conjectured on the thing that has brought us so close together, and I have reached the conclusion that it is the underlying sense of justice and fair play, or, if you please, of sportsmanship common to both nations. Without sportsmanship, which is justice, there can never be liberty.' "

By this time the American troops were arriving in France in large numbers. Lord Reading made the last of his speeches, this time to the Maryland State Bar Association, on 30th June.

"I observe that in the Reichstag, and throughout Germany, it is now known that a new and vital dominant force has not only entered the War, but is determined to throw all it possesses into the scale for the ideals upon which its political system is based, the only principles for which America has ever been drawn into the War. Germany may well reflect with amazement at the results. Soon one million American men must be in France, Mr. Baker tells me. You have not only continued to supply munitions, but you have furnished the Allies with the food so necessary not only for the armies but the civilian population. You are continually increasing your production of ships. The troublesome and critical period of preparation has now passed and the period of fruition is arriving. It is no small wonder that voices are lifted in Germany against those, like Herr Helfferich, Admiral von Capelle and others, who predicted so falsely that America would never play an important part in the War."

Very shortly after this address it was announced rather unexpectedly that Lord Reading was returning to England,

but that he did not expect to be absent very long. Outwardly there seemed no likelihood of the War ending very soon, but behind the scenes the terms of a coming peace were under careful consideration. It seems reasonable to assume that Lord Reading had been summoned so that he might be on the spot if these expectations were realized. His prolonged stay in Europe afforded a further proof of this presumption if any were needed. He left the United States in the third week of July, and his arrival was announced to the public on 7th August, when *The Times* greeted his return in the following leaderette—

“The return of Lord Reading to England on what is believed to be a brief business visit calls for something more than the bare announcement. The testimony of all our correspondents in America agrees that his mission has hitherto been an unusual and unqualified success. They attribute to his capacity, tact, and industry no small share in the solution of the food situation under Mr. Hoover’s masterly management, in the colossal work of moving the American troops, and in the settlement of more than one complicated diplomatic problem. By a common consent he has made for himself in Washington a commanding position even in the line of distinguished men who have represented this country there from time to time. His public speeches are recognized as the best kind of propaganda. His relations with the Administration have always been excellent, and are a real factor in the new Anglo-American understanding which is already one of the crowning victories of the War. The Government are fortunate at the moment in being able to consult him at large.”

CHAPTER IV

PEACE PRELIMINARIES

A WEEK after his arrival in England Lord Reading received official permission to issue a statement on the subject of his mission to the United States, its results, and the character and extent of the personal aid which America had so promptly brought to the Allied cause. It reads as follows and may be left to speak for itself—

LORD READING'S STATEMENT.

"After six months' absence in the United States I have returned for the purpose of conferring with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the War Cabinet on various matters of importance which can be discussed more freely and more satisfactorily by word of mouth than by means of cable correspondence.

"The events in America during this period have indeed been of supreme importance. They are proving a wonderful inspiration to us and our Allies, and a most discouraging surprise to the enemy, for the progress made in these few months by America is indeed marvellous. If I speak in terms of enthusiastic admiration it is because none other would convey my thoughts. During these months my Allied colleagues and I have made many requests to the United States Administration. These have always been received with the most sympathetic consideration, and there is no room for doubt even in the most sceptical mind as to the whole-hearted desire of America to help the Allies to the best of their ability. The only question for the administration always is, how best and when can the thing be done.

"It is no secret that when I left this country early in February the food situation in France, Italy and Great Britain was causing serious anxiety. That situation, however, has been very largely relieved by the indefatigable

exertions of Mr. Hoover, cordially supported by the American people. It would be impossible to speak too highly of his efforts to provide foodstuffs for the Allies, and of the way in which he invariably responded to the joint requests of my French and Italian colleagues and myself, who have throughout acted in the closest and most intimate co-operation. There came a time early in the year when wheat could not be supplied to the Allies from the United States unless the American people were willing themselves to go short. Mr. Hoover placed the facts before them. The response to the appeal for self-denial was immediate and remarkable, and enabled large shipments to be made at a time when, according to all calculations, there was no exportable surplus in America.

In the early months of the year again, owing to the excessive cold, there were difficulties of apparently an unsurmountable nature in the conveyance of foodstuffs by rail from the interior to the coast for shipment abroad. These were overcome by the energetic and courageous action of Mr. McAdoo, the Director-General of Railways (and also Secretary of the Treasury), who issued orders that the transport of food to seaboard for the Allies should have absolute precedence over all other traffic.

"In regard to the production of new ships, which gave cause for anxiety six months ago, Mr. Hurley, with the assistance of Mr. Schwab, has made truly remarkable progress. The record of actual launchings and the number of ships placed in commission during the last two months, and the prospects for the remaining months of the year, inspire complete confidence that as the result of our joint efforts of construction and of our naval forces the submarine menace will not only continue to be held in check, but is doomed to failure. We must, however, never slacken our energies, for there is ever an increasing demand for shipping in consequence of the continuous stream of American troops to France who must be fed and supplied.

"To an ever-increasing degree America has given and is giving invaluable assistance in the prosecution of the War. The dull and undramatic period of preparation has passed

and has given place to the harvest of production which is now being reaped.

"In no direction, however, is the spirit of whole-hearted co-operation more striking than in the magnificent contribution which America has made and is continuing to make for the man-power of the Allies. When, in the grave anxieties of the end of March, at the request of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, I asked the President to order without delay the acceleration of the dispatch of American troops and to allow them to be trained and used with the French and British troops, his answer was an immediate and whole-hearted assent, his only limitation as to the number of men being the shipping capacity to carry them. It was an historic moment, which may in the future be regarded as the turning point in the War. Both the British and the French nations were quick to appreciate the generous spirit of this contribution, made so promptly and at so opportune a moment. It has proved of such value that Marshal Foch has been able to meet the German attack by an Allied counter-offensive, and has not only wrested the initiative from the enemy, but has gained important victories.

"My voyage home was made in a transport filled with fine stalwart specimens of American manhood. Their conduct was remarkably good, and earned the greatest praise of the British generals and officers on board. One could not see these American soldiers without realizing that they were earnest, thoughtful men, intent upon acquitting themselves well for the sake of their country and inspired by the great ideals so well expressed by the President. Once America has acquired knowledge of the situation, her material resources, her financial wealth, the brains and force of character of her millions, in fact, all the physical and moral forces of this giant among the nations, are turning in one direction—to the attainment of victory. The Americans are idealists; they are also a business people. Having realized what victory and failure will mean to humanity, with their characteristic single-mindedness and power of concentration, they are making the

winning of this war their only business, and, if I know anything of them, having undertaken this task, they will persevere until their object is achieved.

"I wish I could adequately convey to the British people the warm-hearted generosity of my reception as British Ambassador by the American people. It is given to me as British representative, and is an expression of the admiration of the Americans for the part played by the British people in this war. Prejudices are giving way to a better understanding of the ideals animating both the American and the British people, ideals that carry them along the same road, in the same direction, in whole-souled co-operation for the progress of humanity and the peace of the world."

This statement was elaborated and enlarged in the very brilliant speech on "The Awakening of America" which he delivered before the American Luncheon Club at the Savoy Hotel on 21st August, 1918.

"I am, indeed, grateful to you for the reception which you have been good enough to give to me, and to the chairman for the words which he has used in introducing the toast to this assembly. I know full well—no one better—that such success as has attended my efforts in the United States is due in the main to the generous goodwill of the United States Administration and of the American people, to the confidence which His Majesty's Government has been good enough to place in me, and to the discretion with which they have seen fit to entrust me, and by no means least, the unvarying assistance and the most cordial support which I have received throughout my experience as Ambassador from the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Balfour, from Lord Robert Cecil, and from the Foreign Office in general. And let me say I am not so foolish as to imagine that this generous goodwill which has been shown to me in America is to me personally. It is to the representative of Great Britain. It is intended, and is so received by me, as a tribute of the high admiration of the American people for the efforts which Great Britain has made in this war, for the valour and heroism of her soldiers, for the magnificent

services of her sailors, for the invincible steadfastness of her people, not only of those in Great Britain, but of all who form part of the British Empire. It is a recognition by America of the true democratic spirit which binds the British Empire so closely together, which makes that one indefinable, almost invincible, scarcely perceptible tie, which links together all the self-governing Dominions and the other Colonies which form part of the British Empire into one great whole, beating with one heart, animated with one spirit, with one fixed resolution, and united by that tie which can only be described as one of affection and love, and which has proved to the world to be stronger than the most superb steel shackles that ever could be forged by any industry.

"I think at this moment of the three visits that I have paid to the United States, where I have had the opportunity of observation to which you have referred. When I went there in 1915 for the first visit America was neutral but sympathetic. I know, perhaps, better than any, how much the success of that mission was due to the sympathy which was shown by the American financiers, as well as by the people of America. When I went on the second occasion, America was at war. I found her in a state of preparation to engage in the great world struggle. All her energies were devoted to the organization of industry in order to produce the machines that were necessary to make this war. When I arrived I found their Military Service Law already in operation, and whenever the history of the War comes to be written and the part of the United States recorded, believe me—of course, I only speak of my own information and observation—very high indeed will rank the achievements of the administration and the legislature in passing within so short a period after war was declared an Act which gave them compulsory military service for their huge population, which imposed it upon the forty-eight States, which link up everybody in the United States in pursuit of the War, which gave to every one there the personal interest which is so necessary of a relative or friend engaged in the struggle. If anyone doubts the value of it, let him turn to what has happened so recently, when you see, as you do,

1,300,000 men, and more, in France at the present moment, sent over by the United States in so short a period, and when you realize that actually at this moment America is engaged through its administration in presenting to Congress, in the way which is constitutional there, a new Bill which is intended to apply compulsory military service to men from eighteen to forty-five. I have seen it stated that that will give an additional number to the register of some 13,000,000 men. That does not mean, of course, that all those 13,000,000 will be enrolled if the Act passes, but what it does mean is that America will have in these extended ages the right of selection amongst all these vast numbers of the best men, and, at any rate in the first instance, those who most appropriately can be sent across the water to serve in the trenches. What it means it is almost impossible for us to foretell. When America announced her entry into the War all doubts—if there had been any in existence up to that moment—were once for all removed, and the end, however long delayed, was quite certain. But even so, we probably never imagined that in so short a period America could play such a splendid part in the War. Preparations had to be made. I remember on my second visit observing the preparations that were being made and noting among some of the American people a little impatience that the preparations did not come earlier into fruition. They little understood the gigantic effort America was making.

“Then on the third visit I found the preparations proceeding with redoubled energy, and that continued until the end of March. I shall never be able to give adequate expression to the sympathy that the American people showed for the happenings in France at the end of March and further on. During that period there was a great awakening in America. I think it is no injustice to say that until that moment the true inwardness of events had not permeated throughout America. May I say I am not quite sure that even here we had understood the significance and the great importance of the preparations which had been made for the attack against our own people. When that moment came the demand had to be made to the United

States from the British Government for assistance in the shape of quickened transport of men, and what had hitherto seemed impossible became a living thing almost as the request was put forward. The great difficulty had always been to find the transport. The chief difficulty that had prevented America from sending over a larger number of troops was that transports were not available; but there were difficulties also in landing and dealing with the men. When the supreme moment came, somehow or other—no one quite knows how—the British Ministry of Shipping, the Admiralty, and all concerned managed to find the ships, cost what it might. America was determined to be equal to us in any sacrifice that was necessary, and she also put forward her best efforts, and the result of those efforts was, as you are seeing now, these great numbers of men coming over. It seems most difficult to picture to ourselves what the advent of close upon 300,000 men a month transported across the Atlantic means. America, whatever else may be said, or whatever may happen, will always be entitled to receive, and will receive, from the Allies the credit due to her. I speak not only of Great Britain, but of our heroic Ally, France, as well. I am drawing no distinctions. I do not envy the lot of any man who sits down to strive to apportion the value of British troops, or French troops or Italian troops, or Belgian troops. Up to the moment America came in, in these hordes, we had held the front, and at a time, as you know, of great stress and strain. Every one of those countries has done its utmost. America is always quick to recognize it. Believe me, there is never any question of want of appreciation of the efforts of the Allies and all that fell upon them in the period that intervened before America joined in the War.

“In that period of March, and the period which has continued up to now, we have had the magnificent spectacle which has not only proved so inspiring and encouraging to all our troops and to all our people, but has actually given results. You know what has happened. I am not going to recount it to you. You know the change that has taken place in the aspect of things since the American troops

arrived. No American would be grateful to me if he thought that I mean that it was the American troops that had done it. What he would like me to say, and what I am proud to think and believe, is that our British and French troops and the whole of our Allied troops together were doing this magnificent work, and that the advent of Americans on the field of battle was not only a great moral support, but it was an encouragement and an invigorating strength to our troops to have the knowledge that behind what had to be done by us, behind the men who were to be killed in the struggle in which we were engaged, were the American troops straining the leash to get in so that they might do their part, and who, when they were called upon, did what was expected of them, so nobly, so gloriously, that it will always be remembered. We feel as proud of their heroism and valour as if it had been that of our own soldiers.

"I am not sure that we all appreciate in this country what idealism is inspiring and stimulating the American people. We had not all recognized in earlier days that America was a nation of idealists. Too many had been inclined to think that they were materialists. We have learnt during this war that this is not true, and that America is ready to sacrifice everything for an ideal, provided that the ideal is noble and the cause is good. It is worth spending a moment just to cast a retrospect on the position of America before she entered the war. She watched events at the outbreak of war, I readily believe, aghast with horror at what was happening. The vast majority of her people did not understand it. They knew nothing of lust for territory or for world domination, the American people having been content to remain in their own country, having no ambitions outside it, provided always that there was no interference with the Monroe doctrine. That probably summed up the whole of the American foreign policy, at least as understood by the American people. Dynastic contests and military love of aggression, with which some countries had been charged with before the War, left America quite cold. I speak always, of course, of the majority of the American people. When they saw Germany breaking her treaty,

marching into Belgium, there was a gasp of horror among the American people who still did not understand it, who did not quite realize what all this contest was about, who even did not know which side was right. Nevertheless, there came that moment to them, and very quickly followed the heart-beats of sympathy with France, always held in grateful remembrance by the United States, and also with Great Britain—Great Britain, the sower of the seeds of American liberty and love of justice.

“Then America began to inquire. She took her time to ascertain the facts. She did not act precipitately. Some have criticized her for not acting more rapidly. I do not myself believe that there is any room for that criticism, when the man who is at the head of affairs in America thinks that the moment has not yet arrived, and that he is not sufficiently satisfied of the truth to take upon himself the great responsibility of recommending the American people to go to war. Gradually, as the evidence unfolded, America came to realize that this was a world struggle between two systems of government which could no longer co-exist. They were at the death-grapple. They are still. One or the other must survive. We know perfectly well that democracy will triumph. The one striking feature of American institutions and of the American people which impresses you almost before you are on their shores and talking to them, is the all-abiding faith they have in democracy as the true system of all government. In their unalterable conviction autocracy is the enemy of mankind. Autocracy must always mean military despotism, and military despotism must rest upon the power to make war. The power to make war, exercised as a means to keep a Government in power, inevitably means that war must ensue. It means, further, that the Government, beset by any difficulties, plots for war. They are convinced, as we are in this country, that no democracy, whatever may be said of what it might do in passion, ever sets out to plot for war. Therefore they came to the conclusion that it was necessary to engage in this war for the rescue of democracy as a system of Government, with all that it

involved for truth, for liberty, for justice prevailing amongst men. They never hesitated once they got to the truth, and, true to the American spirit, once they have entered upon the path there never will be a turning back. The American may not be quick to make up his mind when he is not certain of the facts, but once he knows them he does not hesitate, and then he walks with resolute steps. He is prepared to make every sacrifice. He is prepared to throw everything, as I understand, into this conflict. He is determined—and if I may interpret, according to my own view, any message which I may be charged to give to the British people on my visit to this country, it is that America is with you, is with the Allies, to the end, the only end possible—that is, till victory has been attained.

“ May I say in parenthesis that it just occurs to me that when I returned to this country I came in order that I might have the advantage of conference with the Prime Minister, with the Foreign Office, and with His Majesty’s Government so that we might discuss matters as we can so much better in conversation than by cable. I emphasize it because I have seen various reasons attributed for my visit here. I can only refer to one. It is said that I came here for the purpose of drawing up the terms of an offensive and defensive alliance between the United States and Great Britain. There is not one word of truth in that statement. I should like to take stock for a moment of the good service which Germany has unwittingly done us. Plans do not always turn out as intended. Germany has taught the people of this country to know the good that is in our own people. We knew before, but we never realized its extent. It has taught us the value of our women folk. Some people, I remember, in a controversy which is now dead, used to employ the argument that if you came to war you would always have women against it, however righteous the cause might be. We have seen in this war how woman has turned her hand to do any service that she might be called upon to perform, has never been satisfied, indeed, until she is full of work, and is anxious to make sacrifices just as the men, and, Heaven knows, suffers just as much as the men—at

any rate those who stay at home. Further, in all our different occupations what has been taught us? We have learned and have demonstrated to the world that our people, our employers, are patriotic and ready to make any sacrifice necessary in trade provided it is in the national interests. They are ready to pay taxes, however heavy, and, though I should not be truthful if I said they did it very gladly, at least I should be within the truth if I said they did it ungrudgingly. If you turn to the rest of the population, and more particularly to labour, we have found in labour a great strength of patriotism. We have found them ready to work day and night. I know there are criticisms at times. There are also difficulties. I am taking a general survey of the situation. Let us not forget that our labouring people have done well by their country, and supported her, and without their support you never could have carried on this war as you have. The result has been to give labour a better place in the world. We have recognized the value of labour's services, and labour has taken to itself a new dignity, that of patriotic work to the best of its abilities for the benefit of the country.

"Let me turn to our splendid Allies. I will not review them. You are already aware of what they have done. I think of France at this moment and of all that she has suffered, of the magnificent fortitude of her people, of the valour of her soldiers, the courage of the whole of the population; and I doubt very much whether anyone will ever be able to do justice to France throughout all these years of war—in the great retreat which began at the commencement of the War, in the great recuperation of France, which was a miracle, the solidity of France throughout all the succeeding years, and what is happening in France at the present moment? Under one General, Marshal Foch, all of our men are working in the closest co-operation under their own commanding chief. At this moment, as you know, French, British, Americans and Italians are giving an excellent account of themselves in France. I cannot tell you the exact details, first because I do not know them, and secondly because it would not be right for me to do so until they have

been published ; but at least I can tell you that the British have advanced this morning, and that there is at this moment, as I have learnt within the last two hours, a further advance and a further victory for British troops.

" Is it not well sometimes to ask oneself what is happening in Germany ? What are the Germans saying to each other ? Are they understanding what is happening in France at this moment ? Are they realizing that they have arrived at the peak and that they have now begun to descend ? Have they realized—as I believe it is right to judge, speaking merely from my own observation—that the curve has turned, and that now, with this great accession of American strength, and these magnificent men upon whom we can draw for assistance, we shall be able to march forward ? I ask myself, ' What is Germany saying to this ? ' Her people, presumably, are not allowed to know, but truth has a habit of prevailing even in spite of the censor, and more particularly of the German censor. It will come out. They will know in time. And then I put to myself the question, ' What can they be saying, and what judgment can they form ? ' They must know that with American assistance we can put far more men into the field than ever they can, whatever they do. War does not consist nowadays only of men. It is won also in the workshops and in the laboratories. With the productive capacity of America joined as a governing force to that of all the Allies, is it an exaggeration to say that we must be at the least double—I will put it at a low estimate—in productive capacity to what can be achieved by Germany and her Allies. That productive capacity spells much. They may say, ' Yes, but you cannot transport it from America.' The answer is ' Look what we have done, with the great wave of sympathy which went from America, and the bridge which was thrown across the Atlantic, we have managed to send across 1,300,000 men ; munitions, food, anything that you may wish, will be sent.'

" And shall we need ships ? Does Germany realize the construction programme of America ? Does she understand not only the programme, but what is actually being realized day by day in America ? It baffles all description.

I am not going to attempt to give you figures, but I will tell you this, speaking from personal observation. I will take one place which I visited with Mr. Hurlingham, President of the Shipping Board, and Mr. Schwab at Hog Island close to Philadelphia, which was a swamp before they started work. There are now fifty slipways actually there for the building of ships. I know there are some people who not unnaturally say, 'Yes, but that shipping will be available after the war and will be in competition with our own.' I have no fears, because I am convinced that after the end of the war, we shall be able to work in closer amity, in better co-operation with the United States than ever before.

"Viewing the situation from every standpoint, and whilst fully conscious of the magnitude of the task which is before us, not in the slightest degree intending to belittle it—I should be doing a bad service to my country and to the Allied cause if I attempted to minimize it—yet I know that, provided we do not fall into a complacent optimism, the victory is absolutely marked out and certain. But this is not a moment for relaxing efforts. I would rather urge that it is a moment for redoubled efforts. It is the American view that this is the moment for concentrating all energies upon putting everything into the war so as to make an end of the war as quickly as you can, and by the only possible means. I will quote what President Wilson said in a speech he made on 4th July, which expressed in his own inimitable language the sentiments of the American people, which no one can translate or judge so well as he. He said—

" 'There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision will be tolerable ; no halfway decision is conceivable.'

"With that sentiment in mind I will ask you to remember that the prejudices that had existed in the United States to some extent against Great Britain were dying fast before the War came ; but war has a way of making an end of things which would take many years to destroy in peace, and war, I believe, has destroyed almost every prejudice

that was left, such as still exist I hope and trust will be removed with their causes, before this war has come to an end. I say to you, speaking as I do fresh from contact with that great, generous warm-hearted American people, we shall emerge from this war stronger together than ever we have been in the world's history.

"We shall count our dead, as we must, at the end of the War. We shall determine that our sacrifices and the others' sacrifices shall not have been made in vain. We shall realize that justice must prevail. It is for that we are fighting. There is no intention, I am convinced, either in our own people, if I may speak for them, or in the American people, as I understand them, to do injustice. There is only a determination that this war shall end only when we are able to foretell with certainty, so far as human ingenuity can, that we have made an end at least of the great wars of the world's history, and that in the future small nations will be able to look to the great nations for protection; that they will be assured to get justice from those great nations as they would from a tribunal of one of our own Courts; that they may rely upon it that their case, once put, will be judged on its merits; that the great nations will not allow any territorial ambitions or any others to interfere with dealing fairly and equitably with the claims of small nations, and that amongst us all, all of those who are co-operating here, who are so anxious to secure for the world that reign of liberty, that ordered discipline and freedom which alone make liberty. Liberty shall prevail, enthroned on high, with a light shining to the world that all may see it, that all may know they can come to it, and that America and Great Britain, and those who are associated with them, will be ready to do justice, and are absolutely determined that so long as they can effect it peace in the world shall prevail."

Shortly after this great speech Lord Reading went over to France to visit the battle fronts. He went to the British Headquarters, he paid a visit to Marshal Foch, and then he went to see General Pershing and the American troops, who had just gained a striking success at Luvenchy. To

them in their trenches he spoke as follows on 4th September—

“General, I am glad to be here. I made up my mind when I came to France that I would not go back to America without seeing you, so that when I got back I could tell them all about you and what you are doing. I shall tell them what you have accomplished, and I am sure they will be glad to hear from you through me.

“Will you let me say that no words of mine can express my feelings and the feelings of the British and French troops to have you over here fighting for the great cause, the greatest cause for which men have ever fought in the history of the world? It is magnificent. You have come over here over 3,000 miles. You are here ready to risk your lives and you are fighting for an ideal, the highest ideal of man, an ideal of justice and liberty. I doubt if you yourselves know what your presence here means. I doubt if you yourselves know what your presence has done to encourage the British and French troops fighting here on the soil of France. From the time your President said that you were to be sent over as fast as ships could carry you there has been no holding back. The submarine has not held you back. I have had the pleasure of travelling with several thousand American troops recently, and I know what it means. That is the answer which America has given to Germany. I doubt again very much if Germany knew what America's entry into the war would mean. If she could ever have imagined what it would mean to have America in this struggle she would not have flouted you as she did, nor would she have scoffed at you after you entered the War.

“You have only to look at the map to see what America is doing. But there is something more than your own achievements. There is the inspiration which your presence affords to the British and the French who are fighting with you to reclaim the devastated homes of this land of France, which is being won back for France, for France who has withstood the great struggle so heroically for four long years. You are helping to do this, and more than the effort of any individual, even of the General of your own division, is the

fact that it is the spirit of America that has entered the fight. The spirit of America is with us. It is the support of all Americans, who, with all the British and all the French, are determined to fight to the end to make this a better world for all lovers of human freedom.

"When the history of this war comes to be written I am sure that it will be said that when the American troops began to pour into France by hundreds of thousands per month and take their part in the great struggle, then the change came in the situation, then liberty came nearer with every advancing movement of your troops, advancing as the British are advancing and as the French are advancing. We shall never forget, either in my country or in France, what has been done by America when we really stood most in need of the help you have given. America came forward determined to take her part, a most prominent part, in the struggle for liberty and justice. There was no other ideal in your minds. You came in with no selfish interest, with absolutely no desire to conquer, but fully convinced that it was necessary for the good of humanity, and for the good of the world, that you should take your stand with us. To all of you and to your soldiers, I say, 'Good luck!' You know what you can do and what you will do, with us and the French. You will achieve victory by our joint sacrifices, by our combined efforts, and by the desire we all have to do the best that is within us. I will say to you, if I may, as a message from America, for I have come from America far more recently than any of you, and I speak from my own knowledge, that the people of America are watching you with great pride and with great satisfaction. They realize all the hardships and the many sacrifices you are undergoing for the great cause. They are ready to stand behind you. I shall take back to them a message from you, as I feel sure I rightly interpret your feelings. I shall tell them to be of good cheer, that America is here, that the Star Spangled Banner is waving, and that you are taking a noble part in this great struggle, and will continue to do so till the end, till victory is ours. Good luck to you and God bless you all."

Up to this point Lord Reading had not had any favourable opportunity of expressing his views about France, or the heroic stand she had made for over four years against the invader and devastator of her territory; but before his departure from England an opportunity offered when he consented to open the Anglo-French Society's Exhibition at the Goupil Gallery, in November, 1918. He then voiced his admiration, and that of his fellow countrymen, for the great sister nation across the Channel—

"The exhibition," Lord Reading said, "gave this country another opportunity of expressing our intense admiration for the French nation. During the last four and a half years there had been many insidious attempts to destroy the unity between France and England. They had failed, as he believed all such attempts in the future would, not only because we recognized the source whence they came, and were consequently a little suspicious, but also because the French and the British, who, in the past, had fought against each other and with each other, had now become linked in a friendship which nothing could destroy.

"We in this country," he continued, "have realized that France as a nation now wears an immortal crown of glory. When France was attacked she little knew herself the magnificent and lofty spirit of which her people were capable. I am quite sure that we, notwithstanding our love and admiration for the French nation as it was before the war, did not quite realize what a soul there was in the French nation, which had to come to light to be known to the world only through the trials and tribulations of this Great War. That we shall co-operate with France in the future is as certain as anything possibly can be, because we have suffered together, and in the end we have triumphed together. I beg that we may never forget either in France, in England, or wherever else the Allied cause is believed in, that Germany in the end gave way not because she had changed her views, but because she knew she was absolutely beaten, and that the Germany who is now anxious to fall in with the views of our countries has yet to show by her actions, and not merely by one day or two days, or a year or

two years, that the whole spirit of Germany has changed as we wish it to be changed, before we can ever believe in our hearts that Germany is changed from what she was before the War.

"After all, let us continue to be watchful and wary in peace and in war. We must remember what has happened and must take to heart the lessons of the past. We do not require revenge. What we do want, and what we are determined to have, both in France and in England, and I believe in all the nations associated in this great cause, is justice, stern justice, meted out to those who are responsible for the awful horror of the last four and a half years."

As mentioned, Lord Reading, on leaving the United States in the summer of 1918 did not anticipate a long absence, but in February, 1919, he was still in England, and the British Embassy at Washington was without an Ambassador. The fact attracted considerable notice in both the States and England, and it was held by many that the time had come to make a regular appointment of a permanent character to the Embassy, for Lord Reading's mission was of a "special" kind, and now that the war was concluded, normal times and conditions seemed to have returned. Before any such appointment could be made it was perfectly clear that the formalities associated with the conclusion of a "special mission" and one, moreover, of such great importance should be observed and fulfilled. Lord and Lady Reading sailed for New York on 20th February, and there was no secret that unless something untoward took place in the European position their further stay would not be prolonged. Their return was soon fixed for the beginning of May.

A farewell banquet was arranged by the Pilgrims' Club in their honour, and the Chairman, Mr. Chauncey Depew, read to the assembly a telegram that King George had sent to him. His Majesty, referring to Lord Reading's special mission now ending, stated—

"I rejoice to think that at the close of my Ambassador's special mission the clouds of war which at its commencement overshadowed the world are now disappearing, and

I look forward not only to the assurance of a lasting Peace, but also to an enduring and steadfast brotherhood of the two great English-speaking nations."

On Lord Reading's departure the American Press was unanimous in his praise. He was called "the greatest Jew in the World," and it was declared that he had done more than could have been accomplished by any written pact or agreement to promote a sincere and lasting Anglo-American union and accord. On his arrival in London *The Times* echoed these sentiments in a leading article "welcoming his return as that of one of the most successful Ambassadors whom England had ever sent abroad."

Having put aside the rôle of Ambassador, Lord Reading reverted to his suspended position as Lord Chief Justice of England. The Judges, headed by the Lord Chancellor, assembled in his Court on 26th May to welcome his return, and to congratulate him on his brilliant success in the mission with which the King had entrusted him. For the remainder of that year and for the whole of the next he was engrossed in judicial work. One incident of which his Court was the scene brought back a whiff of the War atmosphere. The President and Judges of the Belgian Cour de Cassation, the highest Court of Appeal in that country, visited London and were received in the Court of King's Bench. The Lord Chief Justice in greeting them recalled their noble attitude during the War, declaring, "We cannot praise or admire too highly the great and deliberate stand made by Belgian Judges, and especially those of the Cour de Cassation, during the German occupation. They refused to obey the orders of the invader or to register his illegal acts."

At the subsequent lunch given by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House he laid down the axiom that "Justice was the symbol of the union of the civilized world."

Outside his Court duties, which excluded him from politics, he revealed his unfaltering interest in the United States on several occasions, among others the Tercentenary of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, in September, 1920. In his speech at the Sailors' Hostel, Lord Reading recalled his own

experience of sea life, and gave quite a personal touch to the proceedings by a fragment of autobiography. "It has been my lot in life," he said, "among many and varied occupations to have been a sailorboy. Very early in life, when, perhaps, there was not so much comfort as there is now, when to sail in the foc'sle of a sailing vessel was not exactly living in a drawing-room, the lessons of the sea were taught me, and there remained with me a sympathy for the sailorman which I shall never forget."

Lord Reading was equally felicitous in his later speeches. He presided at the civic luncheon, given under the auspices of the English-Speaking Union, and also spoke at a meeting in the Guildhall, one of a number arranged by the Union to express "the national tribute" to the Pilgrim Fathers. There was a crowded audience, and the Lord Chief Justice gave a fervent message that became at times impassioned. The Mayor presided. The tone of the meeting was not exuberant. It was one of more import, quiet, serious and attentive. Lord Reading spoke in strong and ringing tones, and in simple language. He examined the history of the Pilgrims from their flight to Holland until they were established in the New World, and the gist of his arguments was this—that the Pilgrims had two great outstanding characteristics—faith in a high cause and tenacity to hold to it; that England had the same characteristics, evidenced by her response to the call in 1914, and that the principles of liberty upon which the American Constitution was based were nurtured in England. The old characteristics of England were the dominant note of America, and upon this sound basis for the creation of a common purpose he made an eloquent plea for unity between the two great English-speaking peoples to maintain the peace of the world.

Among the Ambassadors who represented the United States in England, Mr. Davis was the most successful and the most accomplished. Lord Reading presided over the banquet given by the English-Speaking Union in November, 1919, when an illuminated address of goodwill was presented to the Ambassador. When in a little more than a year later the time for his departure arrived he was entertained

by the same union, under the same President, on 2nd March, 1921.

Lord Reading, proposing the health of the American Ambassador, said "that Mr. Davis, like himself, left the law to become a diplomat, and was now leaving diplomacy to return to the law. Who was there in that assembly who would care to set a limit upon the position which the present American Ambassador might eventually attain? The American people, as he understood them, when they had once entrusted their representation in this country to a man like Mr. Davis, would continue to have a general retainer on him, and when the demand came Mr. Davis would respond to it. Mr. Davis is leaving as Ambassador," Lord Reading continued, "but we trust that he will return with Mrs. Davis to visit us again to see the friends that they have made in this country. I am not disposed to define the duties of an Ambassador. I have been taught, as a maxim of law, that it is dangerous to make definitions. But primarily it is his duty to represent the views and aspirations of his own country in the country to which he is accredited; and, secondly, to strive to understand the people of the country among whom he is living. Above all, the duty of an Ambassador is to obtain the confidence of the people of the country among whom he is living, and to do his utmost to reconcile differences between the two countries whenever they occur. If those are the duties and obligations of an Ambassador, we of the English-Speaking Union have no hesitation in claiming Mr. Davis as a triumphant representative of American diplomacy.

"The Ambassador has been with us so short a time that it seemed difficult to understand that he should have attained the popularity which is justly his. I do not know of any Ambassador who in so short a period has attracted such esteem, admiration and affection from all among whom he has moved. He is assisted, of course, by the lady who is joined to his fortunes. Mr. Davis, in scarcely more than two years, has entered so into our public life that it is at times difficult to conceive of any great occasion in which he is not present. We rejoice, not only because of the individuality

of the Ambassador, but because it means that America, our great English-speaking fellow nation, is represented at our functions. We speak the same language, and Mr. Davis speaks it so extraordinarily well. I would recommend to the English-Speaking Union that they should adopt as a classic sentence one which he uttered towards the end of his speech two nights ago. Mr. Davis said: 'The British Empire and the United States are rather large vessels. Neither can hope to manœuvre without taking account of the other's whereabouts; and they may have to take from time to time a fair amount of the wash from each other's wakes. But God pity the steersman of either who brings them into collision if ever his crew and passengers get their hands on him.'

"Mr. Davis will return shortly to his own country, and there at least he will be able, always with proper regard to his own country's interests, to express the views which he has formed of the British people among whom he has lived. We know that we have our faults, but may we be permitted to hope that we have some virtues? not so far removed, as I have been able to gather, from the faults and virtues of America. We take pride in each other's achievements. To us the personal success of Mr. Davis among us is regarded as a success not only of America but of the English people. There are some who think we are jealous of each other; why, I cannot conceive. There is room for both of us, pursuing as we do the same objects and the same ideals."

With these incidents concludes a great epoch not only in public affairs but in the career of Lord Reading. But it is not the end of his dazzling career, rather is it the prelude to more dramatic passages of life and to more brilliant success and human fame.

CHAPTER V

APPOINTMENT AS VICEROY

AFTER such experiences in world affairs, after so direct and conspicuous a participation in guiding the destinies of nations, it is not surprising that a Court of Law, even if the most famous and the highest in its traditions throughout the world, should seem by contrast narrow and confined to Lord Reading's active and vivid imagination. It is the penalty of those ethereal minds that each successive advance in human fortune and distinction brings no content. The languor of satiety never supervenes for the ardent spirit which is ever seeking new worlds to conquer. What is rare, because human opportunities are limited, is for such restless ambition to find a vent for the achievement of fresh successes. Lord Reading's case provides the most signal example that the word "impossible" has no real meaning, while the latest phase in his romantic career recalls the picturesque aphorism of Lord Beaconsfield, that "Adventures are still to the adventurous."

Some indication of these sentiments leaked out in the earlier months of the year, 1920, when the gossips began to associate Lord Reading's name with several of the Embassies. At first it was suggested that he might succeed Lord Derby in Paris, and then rumour favoured more particularly his return to Washington, not as High Commissioner and Special Ambassador, but as the regularly constituted Ambassador and Envoy Plenipotentiary of the British Crown. But in comparison with these offices, however dignified and useful, that of Lord Chief Justice of England seemed to turn the scale in ordinary times, to which it was supposed the world had returned with the declaration of Peace.

Nine months passed, and these rumours took a new bent and this time towards the truth. Lord Chelmsford's term as Viceroy was on the point of expiring, and the claims of Lord Reading to be his successor naturally suggested themselves.

Once suggested they seemed to the great majority of men irresistible. Of course, there were critics of the proposal. It was said with strange irrelevancy, as racial distinctions are to have no meaning in the British Empire, that as the Secretary of State was a Jew it would be intolerable for the Viceroy to be also a Jew. This argument carried no weight beyond a very small circle. General opinion regarded Lord Reading as probably the most suitable public man available at that moment for so high, distinguished, and, it must be added, difficult an office.

There remained the question whether he would accept the post. This was a matter of health and strength. He had turned sixty, and, although the climate of India had been divested of much of its terrors for elderly persons, Lord Reading had never impressed his friends with the idea that he was particularly robust. Lord Reading, it is true, was not very anxious about himself, but he was a little apprehensive about his wife's health and as to whether the Indian climate would agree with her. It was only when these fears were allayed that he notified his willingness to accept.

Before the end of the year 1920, it was an open secret that Lord Reading was to be the new Viceroy, but it was not till 6th January, 1921, that the official announcement of his appointment appeared in the papers. With characteristic thoroughness the Viceroy Designate then took up the study of the subjects with which he would have to deal. A room at the India Office was set aside for his use. He read and examined an immense number of books, he was furnished with précis of the most important reports, he received a schedule of burning questions, the Political Department initiated him into the secrets of the diplomacy which goes on unceasingly within as well as without the natural frontier of India, and finally he received the visits and listened to the views of everyone, Indian and British, who had the smallest right to speak on the affairs of the Peninsula. The interval before the date fixed for his departure was brief, little more than two months, but he devoted himself with his accustomed energy and assiduity to the study of the vast and intricate subject of the administration of India. This intensive study

was not a secret locked in his own breast. He gave proof in a succession of public speeches of the progress he was making, of the conclusions he was forming, of the principles he would follow, after he had taken charge of the work awaiting him in his new sphere.

But before that stage was reached he had to receive the congratulations of his friends and admirers at home. The congratulations of the Bar, offered in his own Court on 11th January, 1921, were particularly cordial and obviously sincere.

The Lord Chief Justice, in reply, said: "Mr. Attorney, I thank you with all my heart for the congratulations which you, as head of the Bar in England, have addressed to me in your accustomed charming and felicitous language. I will not treat this as a farewell address. I prefer the tone, Mr. Attorney, which you have adopted, of a congratulatory address. That I shall have to leave this place, and within a very short time is, of course, certain, as my acceptance of the Viceroyalty of India necessarily entails my resignation of this position.

"During the course of your observations, many memories crowded through my mind. Thoughts surged which are, perhaps, a little difficult to control. I shall strive in the very few words that I still wish to address to you and the Bar of England to express myself very simply, disentangling the thoughts that are in me at the moment, feeling that the emotion that is stirred in me can only truly be expressed by the symbols of words. I am leaving a position which you have rightly described as one of the most exalted positions in England. To be Lord Chief Justice of England, to be one of the illustrious line of my predecessors, is, after all, a fitting termination to a lawyer's life, however great his position may be. To sit in the seat of the Lord Chief Justice, to administer the Courts of England, to be the head of the judicial administration of the criminal law of England, to direct the work of the Courts of England, to take part in all the labours of administering justice with the assistance of all my colleagues, is a position which it is, indeed, hard to leave. But we have learned,

perhaps better during the War than any of us knew before, that there are calls of duty which must be obeyed. I do not profess to gauge the reasons for the selection of myself, with no knowledge of India, for this very great and illustrious position of Viceroy. I have pondered upon it, and it is only by the assertions of those who are best competent to judge of what is in the interests of this Empire and of India, that I feel that, for some reason, I must be at least fit to take the position. From that moment I have never had any doubts, as regards myself, as to my duty. I will only say that in examination of the reasons for the invitation extended to me I have thought, and indeed I like to think, that it is perhaps rather the officer than the individual who has been asked at this solemn juncture of Indian History to take up the position of the King's representative in India.

"To be the representative of the King-Emperor in India is to be the representative of Justice. I leave this seat, the Judicial Bench, not forsaking or abandoning the pursuit of justice, but rather pursuing it in larger fields, and where I fear the road is not so certain or so well laid.

"In the political sphere it has often struck me that there is this vast difference between the administration of justice in a Court of Law and the direction of public affairs, even though the directing mind is actuated in both instances by a single purpose and desire to do justice. In Courts of Law we are limited by the known factors of the case. The evidence is before us, and we can only deal with that, applying our knowledge of human affairs and the principles of law as handed down to us. In the great field of government and of politics, to my mind—and it is the result of some experience—the only certainty that you have is that you do not know all the factors, and that you can never know, during the time in which your decision has to be given, with certainty, the facts as you might ascertain them if you had years during which to conduct an investigation.

"Let me pass from that with the one last observation that I trust those in India, who may be reading of my appointment, who are now at the outset of great progressive reforms introduced into their country by the

King's Government, may recognize that, in selecting the representative of Justice from this country to take the supreme place as the King's representative in India, it is the desire of His Majesty and of His Majesty's servants to make manifest to India that Justice will remain the supreme guiding factor in the destinies of India, so long as it is possible for human beings to hold the scales even.

"One last word, Mr. Attorney, as to the profession. The special significance and the value of this ceremony is shown by the presence of my colleagues around me. I cannot speak of them here. I can only say that no man who has ever been in a position of pre-eminence among others has ever had a pleasanter duty to discharge than I in presiding over them whenever it has been necessary. But, in truth, the position of precedence is never felt; it is really, among us all, equal labouring together in the same cause of Justice. Devoted to duty they all are.

"May I—alone, perhaps, of all present to-day able to speak this thought—say that, in my deliberate opinion, the Bench of England stands to-day as high as it ever did, higher than it has done in many periods, and that I believe it will stand comparison with any period that may be selected from our history. I take this opportunity publicly of thanking them, one and all, for their assistance—and to the Bar I have tried to recall an unpleasant episode, simply to see whether I could, and to explain it, since I have been on the Bench. I am proud to say that I can recall none. The relations between the Bar and myself, as, indeed, with my brothers on the Bench, have continued to be excellent. From the time when I was an unknown youth, entering the profession after a somewhat stormy very early youth, coming to it with fear, with awe, I have encountered nothing but kindness. Jealousies have, so far as I am concerned, been unknown; the opportunities to wound were always discarded; the occasion to help and encourage was always seized. And to the Bar, also to the other branch of the profession, to the officials, to the clerks, even to the ushers and to the attendants, I would express my thanks for all the assistance they have always given,

reminding them that, although I shall, within a brief period, cease to be Chief Justice, the tradition remains and will be carried on as before, that the greatness of the office will be enhanced in the future by virtue of the man who, no doubt, will succeed me and in due course of time will form one of the great line. I shall go with the encouragement that your words have given to me. I shall not speak of the letters or messages that have come to me, I shall only say that there is not a strain on my modesty—but there might be were I not conscious of my own infirmities in the position I am about to take—I might be minded to think more of myself than is good for any human being. But I know that these messages are intended to encourage me in the task which I am undertaking.

“ Mr. Attorney, it is never good in life to look back save for the purpose of learning a lesson for the future. It is good to look ahead—I do—with hope, with trust in the future, believing that going to India, as I do, with the sole desire to do right, if I may not make a great name I cannot make a failure; for no one going there, animated by a desire to do right, devoted to his duty, anxious to prove to the best of his ability that his country's selection was justified, can at least fail to impress all those qualities upon him.

“ And now, Mr. Attorney, I thank you and all who have assembled here to-day for this purpose—for your congratulations. I bid you all to look upon the future in the same spirit of hope and trust as animates me, no longer in my first youth, and I trust it may be your lot, as it is mine, to receive such encouragement as you and friends have given me throughout the country. With these words I will say to you, to the Bar of England, to those assembled, and, above all, to my colleagues, ‘ may God prosper you ! ’ ”

It was not inappropriate, either, that as he was going away to act as Pro-Consul in Asia he should have been invited to say something on the career of the great Empire-builder in Africa, Cecil Rhodes. Cecil Rhodes was not merely an Empire-builder, he was the founder by his Will of scholarships and academic lectures, and when the United States

Ambassador delivered the Rhodes Lecture in January, 1921, it was very appropriate that Lord Reading should have been invited to express his opinion about one who wished, above all things, to spread a knowledge of the different parts of the Empire among all the nations included in the British Commonwealth. On this subject Lord Reading spoke as follows—

“ Cecil Rhodes was a man around whose name there were many controversies during his lifetime, as must be the case with all public men, particularly those who were attempting to achieve things. But with his death all differences of opinion ceased. He stood, in memory, to the British nation as a great hearted exponent of the British temper and feeling. His one dominant purpose was to extend the sphere of what he truly believed was the beneficent influence of the British Empire. He wished Cecil Rhodes could have lived to see those ideals of his carried out in the manifestations of the Great War, when all those British nations, which together helped to form the British Empire, joined with us and with our Allies, and when, added to it, came in our great sister nation the United States of America.

“ What was his aim in founding, among other of his great bequests, chairs and lectures? To his trustees he bequeathed funds which were to be used for the purpose of extending the knowledge of the possibilities, the development, and the inspiration of the British nation throughout the world. Among them he founded a Chair of Colonial History in the University of London, and his trustees provided for a series of lectures on constitutional law. He hoped he would be forgiven for saying in the presence of the American Ambassador what he often said in Mr. Davis's own country; ‘ When you extol, as you rightly extol, your own great Constitution, you are paying a great tribute to the Englishmen who preceded you, and who really gave birth to that Constitution in America.’

“ His final word was of regret that Mr. Davis was about to leave England. He had been here but a comparatively brief span, and yet he had made such a place here in our

hearts and in our public life that we could ill-spare him. He had always remained the exponent of American views, and he had never forgotten that he was the supreme representative in this country of American interests. Yet he had contrived to be sympathetic to British interests, to understand our points of view, to strive to reconcile our differences, and to take that part with us which had led us to expect of him when he addressed us a mastery of English and an oratory which was hard to beat. Mr. Davis would leave England secure in our esteem and respect, and would carry away with him the warm-hearted admiration, and, in no conventional phrase, the true affection of the English people among whom he had lived."

Lord Reading's connection with Reading has been several times referred to, and, as he had a country seat in the neighbourhood, it continued long after he ceased to represent the borough. Lord Reading was, and presumably is still, a strong advocate of the League of Nations. It was only natural that he should preside over the Reading Branch at its inauguration, on 31st January, 1921.

Lord Reading said "they might have a League of Nations on paper, signed by even greater men than those who had affixed their signatures to it, and ratified by all the Parliaments that existed, and yet it would never be a living force unless it was based upon the people's will. The subject was one which was vital for every human being. The more powerful it became the greater would be its effect. It might be possible in the future, if the League gathered strength as they hoped, to devise an instrument which would prevent wars for always. It would be an interesting problem for the historian to go through the chronicles of the wars waged in the past, and to strive to arrive at a conclusion how many of those wars would have taken place if there had been three months during which to deliberate. As one with some experience in life, both of the law and of politics and of international politics, he could not help thinking that one of the qualities that distinguished man from an animal was the restraint which, by means of his divine mind he could impress upon his actions.

"It was the hope of all of them that the people would in the future have more to say in all countries as to war. He hoped that the people would be taken more into the confidence of their Governments. It was not for us to discuss why the Senate of the United States had not ratified the Treaty. That was a matter for America and Americans, but we were deeply interested in it along with all the other signatories. There was no nation in the world, in his view, which could wield such influence at the council of the nations as America.

"The problem of finance was quite as important as the delimitation of frontiers, if not more so. On finance and economics depended not only the situation for the peoples abroad, but very largely also the well-being and contentment of the people of this country. The markets in countries which had depreciated currencies were shut to the British working man and the British capitalist for the time being, because those people were unable to buy. This was an evidence that we could no longer shut ourselves up in water-tight compartments. The world's trade depended on the exchange of goods between the nations of the world.

"They might discuss the League of Nations from every aspect, but they would always come back to the problem of disarmament. He did not mean by disarmament that he would expose this nation to aggression. No responsible man would dream, particularly after what we had experienced, of exposing the country to any such danger. No man would start with any other notion than that we could not disarm until other countries were prepared to do so; but, when they saw that our military expenditure was far greater than before the war, and that the country was burdened with a huge debt and enormous taxation as well as high prices, they wondered whether we could go on piling up expenditure on armaments, and, if so, what would be the result. Disarmament would not be reached to-day or to-morrow, but the League of Nations would lead them on the road."

The time had now arrived for Lord Reading to approach

the subject which was to be uppermost in his thoughts during the next few years, and with regard to which his reputation would be established for all men to judge. In the following speech, which may be said to open the farewell series, there is a great deal about the United States, and the reference to India is only in the final passage, but it breathes unqualified confidence in the general principle that all men are very much alike. The occasion on which this speech was delivered was the Dinner of the Empire Family Council, at the Hyde Park Hotel, on 12th February, 1921.

Lord Reading who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, said: "It was a charming and gracious act on the part of the English-Speaking Union to invite me to meet you before I depart for India, and that you should have assembled in such numbers to do me honour is a tribute which I deeply appreciate. I have only one regret, and that is that the American Ambassador is not well enough to be present with us. I heard him on the telephone just before I came here, though I am not quite sure that to say I heard him is quite an accurate expression, but I managed to gather what he wished to say, and I was pleased with the announcement with which he accompanied it, that Mrs. Davis, that lady whose graceful charm and courtesy is so well known at the American Embassy and elsewhere, was to be with us. This is not quite the moment to speak of the American Ambassador's departure, although it is drawing very near. But I cannot, as chairman of the English-Speaking Union, refrain from saying that when the time comes for Mr. Davis to give up his appointment he will leave this country not only with our sincere esteem and admiration, but—and it is no conventional phrase to use—he and Mrs. Davis will carry with them the memory, which I trust will last long, of the abiding affection of the British people. Mr. Churchill has expressed to us in the felicitous language of which he is so great a master the views which are held by members of the English-Speaking Union in regard to America. He gave us briefly some of the reasons why Great Britain should be drawn so closely to America and America

to us. My own views on the subject are too well known to need repetition. But were I so minded I could tell tales of America and of American goodwill to Britain during my experience in America, on the four visits I paid during the War, which would take a very long time in the telling, but each incident of which would impress upon you most deeply the value and generosity of American friendship.

"There is just one instance to which I will refer that has not been told before, and I refer to it because it was brought prominently to my mind by a letter I have received from India. During the War, when, as you know, every attempt was made by inspired propaganda to create dissension in the British Empire, there arose a situation in India which provided the material for the story I am about to tell, illustrating American goodwill and friendship as well as anything I know in the whole history of the War, except, perhaps, the greatest thing of all, when President Wilson agreed that American troops should be brigaded with the French and British. There was a great scarcity of silver in India, where it was of more consequence than in most places. We were hard pressed, very hard pressed, to find the metallic reserve, and particularly silver, which was necessary in India, where it was essential that the paper note should be convertible immediately into the silver rupee. Owing to the scarcity the difficulty was to find silver. There was no means but one, and that seemed impossible. In the vaults of the American Treasury there were vast stores preserved as the financial backing against notes which were issued by Act of Congress—silver which could not be disturbed. No matter how much it might be wanted, it could not be taken out of the vaults of the United States Treasury, save by Act of Congress. It was then that the United States Administrators, and members of Congress of every party, joined in an endeavour to meet the situation by passing an Act without discussion, or practically without discussion, because any debate on the subject would have been serious. The measure was passed in almost a record shortness of time. It became law in a very few days, and vast millions of ounces of silver from the

vaults were released and sent across the ocean to India—a country with which America had no concern—simply because America saw how necessary it was at that particular moment to help the British Empire. Nothing was made known of this indeed, not even in the newspapers. Numbers of newspapers were aware of it, but they did not mention it, because they felt that if they did they would derogate largely from the generous service which America was rendering to us. So far as I know America has never claimed anything in the way of recognition for that service; and so far as I am aware, I have made the first public statement in regard to it. I was even under the impression it was a subject that was not to be discussed. But inquiring at the great temple to me now, the India Office, whether I could speak of it, the answer I received was; ‘Certainly, anyone who chooses can obtain the information by reading the official documents. We shall be very glad if you refer to it.’

“During the War we were all animated by a common purpose. Now that the War is over, individuals naturally revert to their ordinary occupations and turn their minds to their private affairs, and nations which were united in the conflict begin to consider matters each from its own particular standpoint. When that happens, it necessarily follows that the great spirit of exalted idealism by which the peoples of America and Great Britain were animated during the War must come to an end. Not entirely indeed, but it cannot be kept in peace quite at the height at which it was maintained during a common peril. Now that peace has come we have to look at practical considerations. But this I will say, and I am sure you will agree with me, that once the sacred fire of patriotism has been kindled it can never be entirely extinguished; and in peace as in war, though some of us, perhaps, are not quite conscious of it, there is deep down in our hearts the feeling that everyone to the utmost of his power has to do what he can to serve his country. That is true of the Americans as it is of us, and now, when during the time of re-organization each country is striving to set its house in order after the world chaos, it is most essential that no misunderstanding should arise

between them. Out of misunderstanding grows suspicion, and out of suspicion grows distrust. After all, nations are only aggregations of human beings; friendship between nations is a friendship between individuals, and in friendship there is no place for the seeds of suspicion to germinate. I do not believe it is possible for those people who are moved by a feeling of ill-will to us, however clever they may be, to sow those seeds of suspicion here or in America out of which distrust grows. And when there is the basis of goodwill, with a frank exposition of the views of both sides, then assuredly will be found means of a fair and reasonable adjustment between the two nations. A great Frenchman said that no bargain is really a good bargain unless it pleases both sides. That is true in international affairs. It is true in all the relations between two great and powerful countries like America and Great Britain.

"It cannot, of course, be for us to express any views as to what America should do by us, or how we wish she should do it. Neither is it, of course, for America to tell us what we should do or how we should do it. But nations thoroughly understand that each in its own affairs has to govern itself according to the declared will of the majority of the people. America, perhaps against her will, certainly against her teaching since the days of George Washington, is finding herself one of the greatest Powers the world has ever known, and from the lessons of the war she has learned of the international character of trade, shipping, industry, finance and all economics, and realizes that a country cannot exist solely within its own boundaries, but must have relations with other lands. Of course, I do not mean that America did not realize that there were necessities of this kind long before the war. What I do mean is that I believe America has learned, as we have, better than was known or understood before, that if bad relations prevail between different countries, if barriers are set up between them, if there are revolutions, as in Russia, that all nations feel the effects, that in the end such a state of things must react upon the prosperity and consequently upon the wealth and employment of every land. It is, of course, for America to

say what part she will take. I will only say one thing, speaking for myself alone, and solely on my own responsibility, but with some knowledge of America and the Americans—that I am convinced that this country would never have to make a struggle for liberty and justice without having America with her, determined, if necessary, to take her part again as she did in the Great War.

“I am going forth to another world, not to the West, but to the East. May I say that I undertook this new duty gladly, because it was represented to me that in doing so I could be of service to my country. There are so many millions who would do the same if they had the opportunity, but to whom the opportunity has not been given, that I regard myself, indeed as a lucky man. I shall go determined, of course, to do my utmost, and conscious of the greatness of the task before me with over 300 millions of people in India of different castes, different religions, different customs, and, it may be, different habits of thought. I may be bold, but I have pondered this subject many days, and what I think is this: When one goes to India one will find human nature there as we find it here in Britain. I believe the people of India make the same warm response to generous treatment as our own people or as the American people. I am confident that in India, as here, justice must reign supreme, and I do not doubt—I trust I am not unduly hopeful—but that India, if she credits one with those ideas, if she believes that I am actuated by those opinions and policy, she will give me that same generous reception which I am so eager to give to her.”

The first mainly Indian audience that he addressed was on 27th February, at the Indian Students' Union, of which it is best to give the full report.

Lord Reading, after listening to an address by Dr. A. E. Garvie, of New College, London, on “Political Idealism,” and two speeches from Indians, accepted a loudly voiced invitation to say a few words.

The circumstances were interesting. Principal Garvie's lecture had been characterized by vigorous radicalism, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who wore Indian costume, had taken

the opportunity to speak before Lord Reading of India's aspirations. "Liberty, Justice and Love," she said, using a substitution of those words by Dr. Garvie for the French principles of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," were the three things which summed up the whole of India's idea of politics. If he who was to be for five years custodian of the Imperial honour in her country would remember what the lecturer had said, "Be the other fellow," she thought there might be peace for India. India was setting out on the path to freedom. It was for the custodian of England's honour to see that the freedom was born of mutual understanding and respect for their liberty.

Lord Reading in his reply remarked that he was "still Lord Chief Justice of England, and in the English judiciary they had no politics. Principal Garvie, however, when he claimed as his three leaders of thought, Gladstone, Campbell-Bannerman and Lord Morley, had stirred him for the moment to forget that he had nothing to do with politics. These three names stood among the great leaders of political idealism. Principal Garvie had used a word in substitution for 'equality' which made a special appeal to him, for to him in political idealism justice stood supreme. He placed justice above even so sacred a word as liberty, and for this reason, that he could not conceive real justice without real liberty. Principal Garvie had spoken of 'being the other fellow.' This had recalled to him a book, forgotten perhaps to-day, in which there was a man who always had one answer to every difficult situation. Whenever there was condemnation of others this man said: 'Put yourself in his place.' He had never forgotten that 'Put yourself in his place' was a concise way of advising efforts towards mutual understanding and sympathy. In his preparation for the new life on which he was about to start he had had it deeply impressed upon his mind that human nature and human sympathy and human understanding were the same all the world over. The desire for justice seemed as strong as ever in a community thousands of miles away as it was among us here. His notion of political idealism had always been that you should set yourself a great ideal, the

nobler the better, and then work by practical politics to attempt to attain, not perhaps the whole ideal, because that was not for any human being in a generation, but at any rate part of the ideal."

A few days after this meeting another occasion presented itself for the revelation of what was passing through his mind at the reception given by the National Indian Association on 2nd March.

Lord Reading, who was very cordially received, said that "there was no more priceless boon in the human world than that of education, and he was glad to think that the association was doing so much in the cause of its promotion in India and for the students from that country. There were many topics on which he would like to speak, but both in law and diplomacy he had learned the value of restraint in speech. He had also learned the inexpressible value of human sympathy. This sympathy was hard to define, but he had found that it really consisted in the power of understanding what others were thinking and doing. If they could only understand what lay at the root of other people's point of view they would have travelled a long way towards that complete understanding which meant so much between peoples and more especially between peoples of different races. He started on his great mission animated by the very best objects—and that was true not only of the men who had preceded him, but also of the Indian Civil Service. He was going to India expecting to see the most wonderful sights in that land of history, mystery, romance and imagination. Those sights would be new to him except for a casual visit in early life, when he did not travel under the best auspices. He begged that before they criticized his work in India they would remember that the task before him must be difficult for anyone. He was not inclined to exaggerate difficulties, but certainly he was never disposed to conceal them from himself. That there were difficulties made him welcome the opportunity that had been afforded him. He was not as young as the students present, but nevertheless he was young still in enthusiasm and in ideals. What they might be as regards India his hearers must trust

him to say when the proper time came ; but he could say there could be no better task than to strive to help that great country along. He cherished the hope of the steady and peaceful development of India along the path of reform and towards those greater aspirations which were hers."

CHAPTER VI

FINAL LEAVE-TAKINGS

THE dinner given by the Royal Colonial Institute presided over by the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu was the occasion of several important speeches, and deserves the reproduction of the full report contained in "United Empire," the official organ of the Institute—

A dinner to the Right Hon. The Earl of Reading, G.C.B., K.C.V.O., Viceroy and Governor-General Designate of India, was given by the Institute on 4th March at the Hotel Victoria. There was a very large company. The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P., the Secretary of State for India, presided.

The loyal toasts were duly honoured. In proposing the toast of "Our Guest" the Chairman said: "I think this is the first time I have proposed Lord Reading's health, but he is a lifelong friend—a man with whom on occasion in the past I have been associated in close and difficult work. My mind carries me back to-night to the opening period of the war in 1914 when, under the inspiring leadership of the present Prime Minister, Lord Reading and I spent strenuous days and nights at the Treasury, helping to perfect our financial equipment for those fateful years. We have again been thrown together for the last few weeks, strenuous weeks also, at the India Office. So that I can say that I have had experience, not only of a lifelong friendship, but of working association to guide me, when I tell you that I look forward with confidence to the good fortune of working as a colleague, once again, with Lord Reading; even though, unfortunately, that colleagueship has to extend over thousands of miles of sea and be subjected to the vagaries of *telegraphese*. It is a happy circumstance, I think, that on setting out for India Lord Reading should be the guest of the Royal Colonial Institute. The work he is called upon to do has a very intimate relationship

with the idea which, as I conceive it, was at the basis of the foundation of the Royal Colonial Institute. As I look at the list of guests I see distinguished men—men who have done widely different work and led widely different careers, but all devoted in endeavour and in service to the same cause—that wonderful and intangible thing—the spirit of the British Empire. That is a thing which has power to draw together by unseen but indestructible threads great nations and great continents separated by vast distances and diverse origins. It is a spirit which holds them bound in mutual understanding and in the pursuit of peaceful ends. But it promotes a combination so strong that it is enabled by the very freedom of its constituent parts to withstand not only the brutal shocks of militaristic materialism from without, but also economic unrest and disruptive forces from within. Its secret lies in the one word ‘partnership,’ and the outstanding line of our endeavour to-day is that marked out by our invitation to India that she should find her place in the partnership of the Dominions in the Empire. I think we should all be proud of the fact that for the past sixty years, indeed almost ever since the very beginning of the British connection, India’s history has irresistibly tended to that end. British statesmanship has guided her in the past, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, to that goal. The Great War, the loyal response of India to the crying needs, the real needs of real civilization, the gallant and memorable efforts of her soldiers in the field, quickened the pace. The policy was definitely formulated in 1917, and it is well known we owe the inception of that policy to my valued colleague of the past four years, Lord Chelmsford, from whom Lord Reading is about to take up the reins. To his high-minded and patriotic concentration we also owe the steps that have been taken to perfect that stage in the intervening period, until at this moment His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who has once more added in an immeasurable degree to the debt which the Empire owes him, has set the seal by the visit which has just been completed, amid scenes of the greatest enthusiasm, and by the speeches which he has made

in opening the Council. It has, of course, always been obvious that differences in race and religion and language are no bar to admission to partnership in the British Empire. British, French and Dutch, amongst others, contribute on an equal footing to the population of our great Dominions. The very variety of our population seems to me to emphasize the nature of the bond which links us as one organization, and membership of that organization, as we can never forget, has been an inestimable boon, an acknowledged boon, not only to the Mother Country, but to every sister nation in the British Commonwealth. The essence of the matter has just been once more emphasized by the people of South Africa, under the leadership of that great Imperialist, General Smuts. Therefore, it is certainly not from the point of view of Great Britain alone, but from the point of view of India herself, that I say I can see no future for India, except as a member of the British Empire, and, when she attains Dominion status, it will be under the aegis of Great Britain, and as the result of the devoted service of generations of Britons and their determined efforts to lead India along that path. Her future should indeed, be bright. She should contribute, in growing degree, to the moral power of the Empire, without ever lessening the influence of her own characteristic civilization. On the other hand, I need hardly point out to this assembly that separation would mean for her the loss of all that membership of our Commonwealth will unfailingly bring her—the loss of her own immemorial civilization which the Empire has so sedulously protected and, in the end, anarchy and despair. The Empire would, indeed, be poorer, but for India there would hardly remain anything of those things which make life worth living. This is not, of course, a view which can be contemplated here, and I venture to assert it is not the destiny which is contemplated by any responsible Indians within the Empire. That being so, having regard to the fact that the avowed object of the Government and of the governed is the same, I can find no justification for agitation which cannot possibly accelerate but can only retard the achievement of our goal, and, of

course, still further I can see no excuse for temptation to disorder which no Government can possibly permit. One further word: nobody who has had anything to do with India can avoid the conclusion that you are confronted in that country on the one hand with the terrible poverty of the majority of the people and, on the other hand, with almost measureless resources that only require development to increase the prosperity of the whole country; and I believe that no man can do greater service to the people of India to-day than he who sets himself to further, by all means in his power, the industrial development of the country.

“But, if I am asked to-night to sum up the political task which confronts Lord Reading, I think I can do it, if I have carried you so far with me, in one sentence: He has before him, while maintaining and consolidating the good relationship which exists between the princes of India and their states, at the same time to lead a proud people throbbing anew with race consciousness and with national consciousness as far as in him lies, along the only successful road, the well-ordered road, to the highest destiny that awaits any country, partnership in the British Empire. What nobler work can any citizen of this country be called upon to undertake? If it succeeds, and it is bound to succeed, what a triumph for all that is best in humanity! and if it fails—God forbid it should fail!—how indisputably the world would be poorer! Lord Reading undertakes his task with the complete and convinced confidence of every part of the British Empire. He has been called upon of recent years to travel very far. I found the other day a description by Homer, which I think is applicable to Lord Reading—‘Of many men he has seen the cities and has understood their mind.’ What better qualification for a Viceroy of India in the journey that now lies before him? He will take with him the same courageous resourcefulness, the same high judgment, the ever-fresh receptivity of his mind and his wonderful and powerful gift of sympathy, which have made him what we now know him to be. His record of success in every public work he has undertaken

enables us to wish him from the bottom of our hearts the happiness which must accompany success in the great work that he has been asked now to undertake."

The Right Hon. the Earl of Reading, G.C.B., K.C.V.O. :
"It was a graceful act on the part of the Royal Colonial Institute to invite me to be their guest with the object, no doubt, of wishing me success in the mission which I have undertaken. I thank the Institute for its hospitality and you for your reception of the toast. Mr. Montagu has brought to me recollections of our past associations. He is Secretary of State for India. I am only Viceroy-designate. He can speak of India with authority. I only as a student. I am still only just within the gates of the great University of India—beginning to learn the problems of those who are confronted with the government of India. It would, moreover, ill-become me in the position which I now occupy, which perhaps I may remind you is Lord Chief Justice of England, to speak to you of India, with which I shall have nothing to do in the shape of responsible governmental influence or authority until I arrive there and take over from Lord Chelmsford. But may I in all truth, and with complete conviction, be permitted to say that since I have been at the India Office and have come in contact with Mr. Montagu and those associated with him there, I have learnt to appreciate the diversities, complexities, and difficulties of the government of India, and in my association with Mr. Montagu I have learnt above all to value the intense devotion he has to the interests of India. He has spoken to you with characteristic modesty and has not claimed or said anything for himself about those reforms which are known to us as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. I do not pause to inquire who is the initiator. All I wish to understand is that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are mainly responsible for them. I should content myself with giving voice to my views when I have been able to understand them better. But the picture which he has presented to you of India along the path which is mapped out by those reforms is, indeed, a fascinating picture. I do not think it is possible for anyone who has red blood in his veins to conjure up to



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THE EARL OF READING
(Viceroy designate of India)

THE RT. HON. E. S. MONTAGU
(Secretary of State for India)

SIR GODFREY LAIDEN
(Chairman of Council)

"United Empire"

his vision the picture of the British Empire as it now is, with all its achievements, without feeling his heart beat faster, his pulse throb, and his mind surge with thought—when he thinks, I say, of the British Empire and of those men who, in the past, have helped to construct that Empire and the effect that Empire has produced on the world. To be a citizen of the Empire may perhaps not be to one's credit, because it is often an accident, but at least it is a proud possession. You, of the Royal Colonial Institute, who at all points touch the British Empire—you, in this distinguished assembly, represent so much of what has been achieved by the British Empire throughout the world that you cannot fail to appreciate what the history of Britain and its Empire means. I only dwell for one moment upon the thought of this small sea-girt land, with its adventurous spirits, with its public service, with its patriotic devotion, stepping out throughout the seas into the world, spreading civilization, respecting the laws and customs of others, and holding triumphant wherever it goes, as the symbol of Britain and the British Empire, the Sword of Justice, even-handed to all. As I think of all the happenings in the War, when perhaps we were tested as never before, when by their voluntary acts the Dominions, which it was thought would turn from us, when India, which it was expected would rise against Britain and add to her trouble—when we think of the splendid gallantry and the devoted loyalty of these people from the four corners of the world, we may say in all humility that these nations turned to help us because they realized that in helping Britain they were helping what was best in the world, and that enmity to Britain must be meant to destroy that which we have so carefully built up. Strive for a moment to think what it is that holds us together. One sees all the advantages and the value of this partnership within the British Empire, and I say to myself: 'What does it mean, where are the Articles; what lawyer has drawn them up; what are the penalties; what is the duration, and what is the capital?' The answer which comes swiftly to the mind is: It is simply common interests, common ties, common affections, held

together as we are by silken threads, stronger than the strongest steel girders ever fastened; threads light as gossamer, based on the one hand in those deep-rooted affections for the same institutions and for the same ideals, culminating at the other in loyalty to the throne, and not only to the Sovereign who actually occupies it, but the occupant of the throne as the apex of that marvellous edifice so carefully constructed throughout the centuries, which towers so high throughout the world and which, I trust, may ever be the guiding spectacle for those who seek liberty and who seek justice. If I strive to ask myself as I have done, why I have been recommended by the Prime Minister to the King for this exalted position, I would say not because of achievements—I will not claim any personal qualities which would entitle me to the position—but I believe in the mind of those responsible there came a thought which struck me from the moment I heard of it as an all-compelling thought—a notion that fires the imagination—that it would be a great idea to ask him who sits in the mighty seat of British justice to leave it and go to India to undertake his part in the government of that country. I myself shall always remain of the opinion that that was and is the motive, that I represent the justice of this country. I, who am about to leave the seat of justice, may perhaps say that upon which I would not venture if I were to remain there. Whoever is entrusted with the duties of administering justice in this country has upon him far greater responsibility than merely satisfying the needs of litigants who bring disputes to him. He is the custodian of a great and priceless heritage handed down as the true embodiment of the genius so characteristic of the British people of fair play and impartiality in dealing with people, and he stands, whoever he may be, fraught with responsibility, not only here but throughout the world, of maintaining what I verily, honestly, and convincingly believe, is the highest tradition of justice that exists throughout the civilized world. And so, if at the end of my period of office—if, when I return to this country, it can be said of me that I have, in however small a way, contributed to the

welfare and the happiness and prosperity of India—if it can be said that I have taken some small part in upholding the traditions of British justice in India—if it can be said of me that I have helped to knit together, even closer, all that is meant by the British Empire, and that I have assisted, in however little a degree, in fixing more deeply, more firmly the priceless lustre, the wonderful gem of India in the Imperial diadem, then, I think, I shall have deserved some little credit."

Lord Reading resumed his seat amid loud and repeated cheers.

Sir Godfrey Lagden, K.C.M.G.: "I am called upon to propose a toast which I know you will cordially receive, that of our Chairman. We thought it would do a greater honour to our guest and lend significance to the occasion if we could persuade the Secretary of State to take the chair. We are deeply indebted to him for allowing himself to be persuaded, and also for the eloquent and illuminating speech he has delivered to us. This evening marks another forward step in the policy of the Royal Colonial Institute. Our motto is, 'United Empire,' and for some considerable time it has been our great desire to try and enter into closer and more sympathetic touch with the people of India and those responsible for the business and government of India. We have accordingly set up in the Institute a committee whose work is entirely devoted to Indian affairs, and which is composed of distinguished men who have served most of their careers in India, and are familiar with every aspect of its life. We are glad to number amongst the list of our Fellows and Vice-Presidents the names of Lord Sinha, who now occupies a high position in India, and also several of the ruling princes. I feel sure we all shared in the tribute which the chairman paid to the strong character and outstanding ability of our guest, and must have breathed a silent hope while listening to his remarkable speech, that Lord Reading will be endowed with all the patience, all the judgment, and all the power he requires in carrying out the great task which lies in front of him. That hope, too, will be echoed by all those who read of these proceedings in the journal of the Institute, which circulates to many, many

thousands of our Fellows and their friends all the world over. Lord Reading is going to encounter a great problem, and it is certain he will do it with the courage and fair-mindedness which has characterized him all through his public life. Our chairman has had to face and is still facing the same great problem. He is largely responsible for the peace, contentment, and good government of the Indian Empire. To that great duty he has earnestly devoted himself in the past. He has performed it with all his might and with earnest conviction. It is our sincere hope that his efforts will be crowned not only with success but with lasting success. This old country of ours, in the long course of its history, has had to face equally heavy storms and troubles. But I believe, we all believe, we shall win through this trouble as we have won through others, and for the same reason—that is, that we have only one purpose, one single-minded purpose, namely, the happiness and welfare of the people of India. The situation in India requires that we should send her of our best, and we congratulate our chairman upon his success in securing so capable and distinguished an Ambassador as Lord Reading. We of this Institute would like Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading to feel that the Fellows of the Institute, who are to be found in all corners of the earth, will watch and regard their labours with a kind and generous sympathy—the more so, if it can be, because I am privileged to announce that both Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading have allowed me to propose them as Fellows of the Institute.”

The toast was duly honoured, and Mr. Montagu, in briefly expressing his acknowledgment, said he was sure they had found in Lord Reading the best that the British Empire could produce. He had received from that night's proceedings a new inspiration in the task to which he had devoted his political life.

The day of departure was now drawing very close at hand. On 9th March, Lord Reading formally resigned the office of Lord Chief Justice. This was a final severance, and not a temporary suspension. On 14th March he had audience of the King-Emperor to kiss hands on his appointment as

Viceroy and Governor-General, being invested at the same time with the insignia of the Grand Crosses of the Star of India and the Indian Empire.

Two days before that incident the Indian residents and visitors had entertained him at a farewell luncheon presided over by the Aga Khan. The speeches of the chairman and the guest were of the highest order of eloquence and of great political import.

His Highness the Aga Khan, proposing the health of Lord and Lady Reading, said : " I rejoice in this opportunity to participate in this gathering of Indians in London in honour of the Viceroy-designate and to wish him God-speed in the great mission he goes out to discharge. It would be no kindness to our eminent guest to seek to blink the fact that the call he is answering is one of the most difficult that can possibly be entrusted to any subject of the Crown at present. He can be under no illusion on the subject. The difficulty of the task is abundantly attested by the fact that it has been placed on one who has reached the topmost heights of his profession and is in the place of chief authority in the administration of justice, and one, moreover, who has proved himself a great ambassador and diplomatist, and whose financial work at the Treasury in the crisis of the early days of the War showed what an admirable Chancellor of the Exchequer he would make. On Thursday evening Lord Reading discountenanced the suggestion of my friend, Sir Ali Iman, that acceptance of this position was an act of self-sacrifice ; but we may at least be certain that, having regard to the state of health of the gracious lady who goes to India with him, he would not have left the great judicial post he has adorned save under the constraining sense of public duty. We rejoice in the courage and patriotism which has led him to accept the call of the King-Emperor, based as it is on the desire to give India of the very best that English public life can offer.

" In his moving appeal at the inauguration of the Indian Legislature at Delhi, the Duke of Connaught urged that the unhappy events in the Punjab and the controversies to which they gave rise should be forgotten and forgiven. .

" Ill would it become any of us to discount in the slightest degree the earnest appeal of such an old and tried friend of India as His Royal Highness ; but it is at least permissible to say that the necessary accompaniment of forgetfulness and forgiveness is the sense of equal citizenship in the British Empire—and that in India—post-war India—there is no room for arbitrary divisions into first-class and second-class categories of friendship. This recognition is the more essential since the goal of policy in India is not in dispute. Lord Reading begins his Viceroyalty with the great asset which has fallen to none of his predecessors that ' Swaraj ' (self-government to translate the word literally) is the avowed aim both of the British Government and of the Indian people. The word has been used by the Duke of Connaught on behalf of the King-Emperor, and whatever differences there are upon it relate only to the time and methods by which it will be attained. Indians and Englishmen are swimming together in the same stream towards this goal.

" But India has not the same self-centredness as in pre-war days. She has come into the comity of nations, and her vision, enlarged by war experience, is no longer confined to her own affairs. The last few years have happily witnessed a wonderful unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, and they now see most political issues in common. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the Hindus are not in the fullest sympathy with their Mahomedan brethren in reference to the Turkish question. The Prime Minister told the House of Commons in February, 1920, that we could not have won the war against Turkey without the aid of Indian troops. They, indeed, bore the chief brunt of the warfare in the Near and Middle East. Obviously, to the large proportion of the Indian soldiery belonging to the Islamic faith this service in Eastern lands imposed a far greater sacrifice than can be realized by Western peoples of other faiths. There is an essential unity of belief and a basis of common civilization in Mahomedan countries. But inheritors of this possession from India and other lands linked with Allied countries fought in the War against

brother Moslems in the assurance that the high moral principles which the Allies proclaimed from the very beginning of the struggle would be scrupulously upheld, that the liberty and self-determination of nations, whether weak or strong in the military sense, would be respected in the East as well as in the West, and that there would be no element of violence in the terms of peace.

"Indian feeling being what it is, and Indian idealism being so strong, can you wonder that the question of the treatment of Turkey should be regarded as providing a test whether or not India is in the full sense of the term a partner in the Empire? This is a case in which, with due regard to general Imperial obligations, India's desires should be no secondary consideration. One of the greatest assets of the British Empire throughout the world is that of faith in the pledges and undertakings of those in authority, and its conservation is of incalculable importance. The people of India are one with the people of Great Britain in looking on the King-Emperor as their own national Sovereign. It ought not to be possible for them to feel that, while they are praised in war, their sentiments are disregarded in peace. If the majority of the British people regard these sentiments with impatience and as negligible, they would seem to lack those ideas of the meaning of Imperial unity which we Indians have been brought up to believe. We ask unitedly for a full revision of the Treaty of Sèvres.

"I believe that if this great act of justice and recognition of India's locus standi is given, a new and helpful spirit will arise in my country, not so much through changes in men and in parties as by the inherent weight of the act itself. I am confident that its influence for good will reach much farther than the most elaborate efforts apart therefrom could achieve. There could be no better augury for the success of the application of Lord Reading's great qualities of mind and heart to India than the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty, on lines acceptable to Indian sentiment. Not only would this step auspiciously inaugurate the new Viceroyalty, but it would constitute the first united

attempt of England and India to apply to a great Imperial problem the principles of Swaraj, which is now universally acknowledged to be the Indian goal."

LORD READING'S REPLY.

Lord Reading, responding, said he "did not know whether any of them had ever attempted to balance on a tight-rope. If they had they would sympathize with him. If they had not they would not know the difficulties in front of him. His Highness had spoken on subjects with which he was afraid he could not deal. He knew His Highness too well not to be thoroughly convinced that if he attempted to deal with them he would be disappointed in him. He was a Viceroy-designate, which meant that he had not yet been born, but every day he was learning and thinking more of the great mission on which he would proceed in a few days. He wished he could discuss on the same broad lines of high politics and statesmanship and idealism the subjects which had just been referred to, but he had to exercise restraint and must leave it to others if they were so minded to do so. He was content to strive, so far as he could, to understand the atmosphere in which he would soon be living. That was no small effort, and when accomplished it was no small matter. To understand the atmosphere meant to understand the purposes, thoughts and ideals of the people.

"During his life he had found that sympathy and understanding were even more important than was generally supposed. It was lack of sympathy and understanding which had led to the suspicion which was one of the causes of the war. As he listened to the speech which had just been made the thought had run through his mind that if only we understood Indians better and they understood us better, how much we should have been helped along the broad road to which reference had been made. It ought not to be so difficult, for it had been done in the past and would be, he was sure, again. There were times when there was a call upon the peoples of various countries

animated by the same ideals, as during the War, when India responded nobly to the call made upon her.

"Whatever might happen in the future, whatever difficulties there might be at the moment, to which reference had been made, after all there was that one great memory—that in the times of trial when men's minds were raised to the highest attitude of patriotism, India was with us and we were with India. Remarkable progress had been made and had passed almost unnoticed. It was only since the War that India had taken her part, as she had done, with Britain and the Dominions in the Imperial War Cabinet, in the League of Nations, and at the Peace Conference. These things were the outcome of the great fight for idealism and the recognition of Great Britain of the right of India to sit with us and help us. He did not minimise the difficulties that remained but he was not unhopeful. He was going to India convinced that it was possible for the peoples marching in partnership to co-ordinate their efforts to reach the same goal. He thanked them for the encouragement given to him at that gathering and appealed to the people of India to trust him until they found he did not deserve their trust."

The last scene of all had its setting in Middle Temple Hall on 15th March when the Inn gave its distinguished member and bencher a farewell dinner. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Birkenhead) presided, and indulged in some of the reflections that seemed appropriate to the occasion.

The Lord Chancellor, who proposed the toast of "Lord Reading," said that "thirty-six years had passed since Lord Reading ate his first dinner in that ancient hall in order to qualify for membership of the Bar; thirty-six years marked at every stage with success. Singling out three qualities as specially illustrative of Lord Reading's career, he said that the first was that of courtesy, a courtesy so exquisite that while it was shown to everyone it was perhaps most scrupulously shown to him who was most humble. The second quality was that of inexhaustible patience, which Lord Reading never failed to exhibit in any case, whatever its characteristics, and the third was a vehement and

passionate desire to do justice. He had little doubt that those in whose hands the responsibility rested of electing a Viceroy in India, at a moment in the history of that country by no means free from grave anxiety, had in their minds this attribute of Lord Reading, and were influenced by a certainty of the impression that would be produced on the native mind by the knowledge that one of our greatest judges, a man whose career had been synonymous in its practical application with the very conception of justice, was forsaking his judicial functions to go to India, with a determination that, during his tenure of office, sympathy, at least, and a desire to do justice between class and class, man and man, would be forthcoming. Lord Reading had lived a life rich in adventure, but his greatest adventure now awaited him, as he approached the dazzling East."

LORD READING'S REPLY.

Lord Reading, in his reply to the toast, said that "no honour could give him more pleasure than that of meeting his friends of the Bench and Bar that night. At the same time, no function he had attended had filled him with so much regret. He was leaving those among whom he had passed his life, and was laying down a position he had occupied now for some years. He was consoled, however, by the thought that when he returned after his period of Viceroyalty had elapsed, he would still find friends in the Temple, the Courts and elsewhere. The Lord Chancellor has referred to some qualities which Lord Birkenhead was good enough to say he possessed. He could conceive no qualities better for a Judge than those of courtesy and patience, and when to this had been added that he had a passionate love of justice, the Lord Chancellor had said that which came nearest to his heart. He hoped that he would continue to practice these qualities in the larger sphere to which he was now to be transferred.

"He was setting out on a task of very great responsibility, and while he did not intend to dwell on this he must say that he believed the training he had had at the Bar would be

the best help that could be afforded him in the years to come. Life at the Bar and on the Bench meant a constant acquisition of knowledge of human affairs and men. That was the best qualification with which a man could go to such a post as that which he was now about to fill. It was a great privilege to have the opportunity of leaving a position very high in this country, and one which he loved, to go away to undertake new duties in India, of which he could claim to know very little. He felt encouraged and stimulated by the support given to him that night, and he prayed that when he returned he might have done something to justify the anticipations of his friends.

"That he would acquit himself with fidelity he had no doubt. He used this wording because he had found it in the Royal Warrant which had been issued to him. Justice and prudence and circumspection were also included, but the only thing he could speak of with certainty was fidelity. Justice he would strive to practice in India, and he hoped he would succeed. Whether prudence and circumspection would be qualities distinguishing his Viceroyalty he could not say. He would only claim in all humility and all earnestness, that no one could set out on this task with a greater sense of responsibility than himself, or with a greater desire that at the end of his period it might be found that India stood well."

These successive speeches show that the new Viceroy was formulating in advance the principles on which his future policy and proceedings would be based. Justice figured in the first place, but it was to be not only Justice but Legality. The Law was to be the expression of Justice. Every effort was to be made to gain the sympathy and goodwill of the millions of India. More than that, a strenuous attempt was to be set on foot to understand the views and feelings of those millions of human beings, and to convince them that they were understood and that nothing should be omitted to conciliate their views and gain their goodwill. With such principles put in practice much should be accomplished, and a great advance made towards the real unity and concord essential for the maintenance of a

Commonwealth spreading over the greater part of the habitable globe.

Lord Reading set out with prognostications of his success from the leading Press. The *Daily News* well summed up his qualifications for the office upon which he was entering—

“In temper and temperament Lord Reading is perfectly fitted for the task he has courageously undertaken. He is good natured and good humoured, has a great gift of patience, an unusual measure of tolerance for ideas he does not share, a fine sense of justice, and a human and kindly outlook on life. The fact that he is not English in origin is in the circumstances not a loss but a gain. It gives him that detached point of view, that comprehensive survey of the situation, which was never more necessary than now.”

Even the Planets were said to assure his success, according to the casting of his horoscope: “He will come safely through owing to the favourable position of the Dragon’s Head which was favourably placed at his birth in Capricorn, the ruling sign of India and of the Jewish Race. Further, Lord Reading’s appointment was announced at Delhi on 9th January, the day of the New Moon. The sun, the moon, and the planet Mercury, are all keeping a kindly eye on the Viceroy, and from 20th September Jupiter is exalted in his House of Life. This means that Lord Reading will be, as to his health, consistently full of vigour, and as to his office, certain of gaining the affection and admiration of all castes and creeds.”

His friends and admirers could do no more than respond—
“So may it be!”

CHAPTER VII

ARRIVAL IN INDIA

BEFORE describing the incidents that immediately followed Lord Reading's arrival it may be useful to devote a little time and space to the consideration of the position in India itself. The two dominant questions of the hour were, first, the application of the India Act of 1919, embodying what were known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which were themselves a continuation and fulfilment of the earlier reforms associated with the names of Lords Morley and Minto; and, secondly, the enforcement or modification of the Treaty of Sèvres. The former was the affair of the whole of India, while the latter was the question nearest the heart of the Moslem community. At the moment of his acceptance of office it is probable that the former loomed more largely before the eyes of the new Viceroy, and it was only after he was confronted with the realities of the situation on the spot that he may have realized the depth and extent of Moslem disappointment and expectation.

We must take the points in their turn. The Preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919 proclaimed the intention to train the people of India to undertake the government of their own country. To make this possible a sense of Indian nationality had to be created, or, in other words, the political instincts of the people had to be awakened for the purpose of developing a taste for Government among them. From immemorial times India had been governed in numerous forms and phases. This was to be the first attempt to discover whether India could govern herself. A goal was offered, but whether India could reach it or not within any limited period depended on Indians themselves. We will not hide our opinion that the result could only be attained by patience and perseverance, and in the course of time. To hasten the show of progress unduly, to believe that a task for which several generations were but too short

a time could be accomplished in a few years, was but to invite failure, disappointment and a deadlock. Have not events forced this conclusion already on the minds of all impartial observers ?

The system to be introduced was based on equality of work and responsibility—briefly termed dyarchy—to be shared between the British administrators and the representatives of India. It was hoped by investing the latter with a defined amount of authority and responsibility, which was to be extended and enlarged as time went on, that causes of friction would be removed, and that association would bring in its train mutual confidence and concord. When Lord Reading was appointed the experiment had barely begun, but all the signs were considered hopeful and encouraging. A lull had been brought about, and it was felt that the new Viceroy, as an eminent lawyer and expounder of the Law, was the best man to convert that momentary calm into an assured period of tranquillity and progress. That was the prevailing impression of the hour ; that conviction was undoubtedly the inspiring motive in Lord Reading's diagnosis of the situation.

The unratiſied Treaty of Sèvres, and the feelings aroused in India by the proposed dismemberment of Turkey, presented what seemed to most Indian Moslems a more difficult problem, with regard to which they could see at the moment no ground upon which they might base their hopes to have the Treaty cancelled or at least revised. The Treaty itself, framed under influences, in the United States as well as in England, wholly hostile to the religion and rights of the Mahomedan world, and reflecting in its terms the old " Bag and Baggage " policy of Mr. Gladstone, was harsh to the degree of brutality. It stripped the Sultan of all the attributes of sovereign power, it left him a helpless captive in his Palace, and it reduced his territorial possessions in Europe and Asia to the dimensions of a minor vassal State.

But there was worse behind this arbitrary exercise of military power. It was a breach of faith, a double breach of faith. It broke the promises given to the Turks themselves when they consented to go out of the War at a most

convenient moment for the Allies, and to sign an Armistice. It broke the promises given to the Mahomedans of India at the beginning of the War in 1914, when they were solemnly assured that nothing would be done with regard to the Sultan and Turkey that would touch their susceptibilities, or invade the rights and authority of the potentate whom they regarded as their Caliph. For the first time faith in the word of Englishmen was seriously shaken, and the events that followed the presentation of the Treaty seemed calculated to destroy altogether any belief that was left in it.

What were those events? The Sèvres Treaty reduced the Sultan to a shadow and his possessions to a figment of the imagination, but at least its terms were written in ink and not in blood. That was not sufficient for the Pan-Hellenes, of whom President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George—moved like puppets by some far cleverer Greek propagandists—were the chief leaders. They decided that Greece should have a mandate to enforce the conditions that were to appear in the Treaty of Sèvres even before its signature, and at the same time to wreak and satisfy their sanguinary instincts at the expense of the peaceful Moslem population of Smyrna, Thrace and the Troad. Then followed the most brutal massacres perpetrated by Christians on Moslems, and to aggravate the offence, the details were suppressed presumably by official order, for the Press Censorship was still in force. While space was freely granted to the recital of Turk reprisals, true or false, not a line was accorded to those who strove to reveal the other side of the story, and to bring home to the Greeks the enormities they had committed. Even when a few independent witnesses, not to be silenced or browbeaten, lifted in part the veil that concealed the diabolical proceedings of the Greeks, and more especially the massacre of Smyrna, their narratives were received with an air of incredulity, or a shrug of pity for their innocence. Yet the truth far surpassed the worst statements contained in their evidence.

The mandatory Powers must have begun to feel some qualms, for France and Italy drew back and refused to

become the champions of Greek megalomania. The British Government alone remained behind the Greeks, for that intensely anti-Asiatic Power, the United States of America, confined its part to moral apothegms and Platonic blessings. The year 1920 closed in the full belief in a Greek triumph. Their troops had entered Anatolia, there did not seem to be any one to stand up against them, and the moral flaw was to be redeemed by a bloody triumph, such as William of Hohenzollern contemplated when he ordered his hordes to ravage Belgium and France. That was the moment of Lord Reading's appointment to be Viceroy and Governor-General of India, where one-fourth of the population was Moslem, and where the splendid traditions of the Mogul dynasty were scarcely less of a glorious heritage than the achievements of the House of Othman in Stamboul.

Of the two problems of the first magnitude that awaited the attention of the new Viceroy it really seemed as if the latter presented the less favourable chance of a happy and just solution. The first problem was of a domestic order, and allowed time for its settlement. The second extended in its effects and influence far beyond the borders of India, its repercussions could not but be felt wherever men of the Mahomedan faith foregathered, and time pressed instead of waited for its settlement. The reputation of British Ministers, as men of honour, was on trial ; from the moral as well as the political point of view vital and far-reaching issues hung in the balance.

That was the situation when Lord Reading landed at Bombay on 2nd April, 1921. His reception was flattering and encouraging, so much so that in his reply to the address of welcome from the Bombay Municipal Corporation he declared that his earnest desire to contribute to the welfare and happiness of India and the Indian people would, if possible, be intensified. At the same time he showed that he fully realized the responsibilities that were about to devolve on him when he declared that he felt almost overwhelmed by their magnitude and vastness. In the course of his remarks he used words of hopeful augury. He expressed his conviction that " justice and sympathy never

fail to evoke responsive chords in the hearts of ~~men~~^{men, of} whatever race, creed or class," and he continued ~~the~~ British reputation for justice must never be impaired during my tenure of office." Finally he pointed out that the recent inauguration of the New Councils and Reforms by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, an old friend of India, on the part of the King-Emperor, opened a new book in the history of India : " What the people of India will write on the pages of the new book, which is opened by this era of political advancement, must have inevitably a most important effect on their future," and yet he was compelled to admit regretfully that " there is discontent in India." But if his mind was not wholly free of apprehension, hope predominated, and he trusted that, by God's mercy, it might fall to his lot to allay it.

On the following day in a speech delivered to a different audience he dwelt upon the glorious part which India had taken in the Great War. His exact words may be reproduced—

" You refer naturally to the War, in which India behaved with such deep and devoted loyalty to the King-Emperor, and to the cause for which we were fighting. Nothing was more splendid, and I trust that nothing that ever happens will make us—British and Indians together—regret that we struggled for great and high ideals which India took to her heart equally with ourselves. Whilst it is true that there have been disappointments after the war, I am afraid these are inevitable. People cannot always live even in a spiritual country like India at the extreme height of the noblest ideals since we are only human beings, but that we together, British and Indians, reached these altitudes should always be a bond between us."

The receptions and speeches at Bombay were but the prelude to the more serious matters that presented themselves for consideration after Lord Reading had taken up his residence at Simla. Hope gave way to anxiety. There were rumours of imminent trouble, defiance was in the air, and the Executive began to contemplate the necessity of putting in force the ordinary laws, not merely of India but

of all countries. At that critical juncture Lord Reading had the happy thought of proposing a meeting with the leading agitators for the purpose of discussing the points at issue. "The full, free and frank discussion" with Mr. Gandhi, had better be described in the Viceroy's own words—

"I cannot tell you all that happened, yet the veil has been to some extent lifted, and there is no secret as to how the interview came about. Unless it should be thought that there was any concealment about it I will tell you what happened. Mr. Malaviya came to see me, and we had several interviews to my profit, and I hope to his—because I think two men cannot exchange ideas and discuss problems without deriving some benefit to either side. He left me with the impression that he would like me to see Mr. Gandhi. I informed Mr. Malaviya that, if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview, I would readily grant it, and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course Mr. Gandhi did apply, and there was not only one interview but several interviews between us. Here again I think I was not quite so free to tell you all that you might desire to know, yet I will say that I am quite certain that the results of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result, that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me. The result may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. As you may be aware, the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement which doubtless you have seen to-day, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence, and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or make similar speeches so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi.

"I do not want to discuss this matter at any length. I merely refer to it as showing that the interviews were not entirely fruitless because so far as the Government is concerned we achieved our immediate object, which was to prevent incitement to violence, which I have had occasion once before to say almost always reacts with fatal effect upon

those who are the most innocent. We, as a Government, have a duty to perform. We have to protect those who may be thus led away, and we therefore had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law, to maintain its authority, and to prevent the recurrence of any further violence. Fortunately it has not been necessary to have recourse to the ordinary law of the land for the reason we have now got the undertaking to which I have referred. I certainly shall assume that it is intended to keep that undertaking and that the expressions of regret are as sincere as they seem to denote, and so long as that undertaking is observed we need not fear that such speeches will recur, and provided the undertaking is observed they too may be sure that there will be no prosecution for them."

Lord Reading had not been two months in India when at the time of this speech (30th May), he found his hopes sinking under the weight of pressing anxiety. He resorted to the unusual course, at least in the official world, of talking with the agitators and propounding a measure of settlement. It is a recognized method in all Courts of Justice of preventing a controversy from becoming so acute and critical as to defy all efforts at conciliation and settlement. Lord Reading was an *emeritus* in the art of arbitration. It seemed once more that his diplomatic skill, brought opportunely into play, had turned the scale in favour of agreement, composure and restraint. Promises had been given, the anxiety of the Government to accept these promises at their face value had been shown, and it really looked for the moment as if the sting might be removed from the efforts of factious disorder.

In these circumstances there seemed once more some sure ground on which to base a hopeful view of the future. Lord Reading expressed his belief that "in the end we shall satisfy Indians, and bring them to sympathetic co-operation and goodwill with us in working for that great purpose which lies before us to lead India to that high destiny, which is in store for it when it becomes the partner in our Empire, when it has attained its full developments and risen to those heights which the imagination of man, in my judgment, is

as yet incapable of comprehending, when India shall have obtained that place among the Councils of the Empire which shall enable her to exert her influence upon the Councils of the World."

A month later, June, 1921, an occasion arose for the Viceroy to make some reference to the Turkish situation and more particularly to the modification of the still unratified Treaty of Sèvres. The subject had been brought under his notice by a deputation from the Ahmadyyah community, and as his first pronouncement on the subject the text of Lord Reading's reply must be placed on record—

"I would ask you to bear in mind the efforts that the Government of India have consistently made to secure terms of peace with Turkey more in accordance with the religious susceptibilities of our Moslem fellow-subjects in this country. I speak from personal knowledge when I tell you that no reproach can justly be made by Indian Moslems against Lord Chelmsford, or the present Secretary of State (Mr. Montagu), for both of these distinguished gentlemen persistently and most forcibly represented the Indian Moslem views and left no stone unturned to place them before the Allied Powers. If the facts were more fully known a more generous acknowledgment would be made to both of these distinguished friends of India.

"Since I have been Viceroy I have done the utmost in my power to continue to represent those views to His Majesty's Government. These efforts of the Indian Moslems have not been fruitless. The recent deputation of your fellow countrymen has put the views of Indian Moslems before the Home Government, and as you are aware this deputation received the most sympathetic consideration, and a promise that the Treaty of Sèvres should be modified very much in favour of Turkey. That these terms have not yet been accepted by the Powers involved cannot be laid to the fault of the British Government. I wish that the facts to which I have just referred were a little more generally recognized. I know that many Mahomedans freely admit that a great change has been made in the situation by the reception given to the deputation, and by the statements that were

made afterwards by Mr. Montagu embodying the terms the British Government were prepared to put forward to Greece and Turkey, and of which the British Government is doing its best to obtain acceptance.

"But it does seem as if there are some among the Indian Moslems who are more anxious to find fault with the British Government and more desirous of embarrassing the British rule in India than they are of recognizing the efforts that are made to placate, and indeed even to content the Indian Moslems. There is at the present moment a recrudescence of the tendency in some quarters to represent Great Britain as hostile to Islam, and to indulge in references to the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the Kemalists Government at Angora which do not seem to be warranted by the facts.

"The rumour that an ultimatum has been presented to that Government by the British is, so far as I am aware, untrue. I have heard nothing of it. His Majesty's Ministers have on repeated occasions emphatically contradicted the suggestion that they are giving the Greeks any assistance in the campaign now proceeding in Asia Minor. A great responsibility rests upon those who choose to make themselves the means of disseminating the notion in India that in its relations with the Angora Government, His Majesty's Government has only shown another example of its alleged hostility towards Islam, and of its resolve to crush the last remnant of Islamic temporal power. There is not a vestige of truth in that statement. Nothing could be further from the truth than to say that Britain is out to destroy the Islamic power, and let me tell you that no statement is more calculated to tend to trouble and unrest among Indian Mahomedans.

"I most sincerely hope that as a result of events that are now proceeding and of the efforts which are being made, as shown by the reports of Mr. Winston Churchill's speeches on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that their desire to bring about a reasonable peace with Turkey will succeed. I fervently trust that the neutrality so recently reaffirmed by His Majesty's Government in the struggle between

Greece and Turkey may be continued, and that if the conflict in the Near East must proceed, Britain may not be compelled to depart from her declared policy, and I trust also that a just and reasonable peace may result from the endeavours of the Allied Powers between Greece and Turkey which will content the Moslems, and particularly the Indian Moslems who constitute so great and important a portion of the population of His Majesty's Empire."

These citations from the early speeches of the new Viceroy, when he was still young in office, and had enjoyed but few opportunities of measuring the ground and probing the causes of Indian grievances, will suffice to show the spirit in which he approached the two great problems which, as stated at the commencement of this chapter, awaited him, the one domestic and internal, the other external and to a great extent mondial. In both cases there was a certain measure of hope; but a greater measure of apprehension seemed to lurk in the background. The Reforms had not been greeted with that loud volume of approbation and applause that would have expressed the discriminating and grateful acceptance which would have sealed their success. The promises to observe a just neutrality between Turkey and Greece did not dispose of the unpleasant fact that both in Europe and in Asia Greek armies stood as victors on territory indubitably Turkish, or wipe out the stains by which these victories had been accompanied and attained. Still the consolation remained to the Indian Moslems that the Government of India, under both Lord Reading and his predecessor Lord Chelmsford, had been and was still doing its best to act in support of their views and their cause, and that, while Mr. Montagu remained at the India Office, they had a staunch friend and sympathiser in Whitehall.

The personal side of the question must not be ignored. Lord Reading's reception had been on the whole sympathetic, and neither by the public nor in the Indian Press was there any display of personal animosity towards him. In some circles he was regarded as semi-Asiatic by his race. The evidence is more positive, because he himself provides it,

that India and her people had made the most favourable impression on him, and also on Lady Reading who shared his views and anxieties, and who, not less than he, was striving to gain a way to the hearts of all the classes that make up the vast Indian community. He recognized on more than one occasion "the innate Eastern courtesy" in extending a friendly hand and gracious smile to the new-comer. He referred sympathetically to the aims and aspirations, the trials and tribulations, the joys and sorrows of the Indian people, and he expressed his desire to be assisted in catching "the almost inarticulate cries and inaudible whispers of those multitudes who sometimes suffer most and yet find it difficult, if not impossible, to express their needs." His supreme wish, he declared, was that it might be "his good fortune to achieve with the loyal whole-hearted co-operation of British and Indians some lasting benefit for India, and that the next few years may revive and enhance her economic prosperity, and contribute to her material and spiritual well-being, to the end that peace, goodwill and happiness may reign among her people." Finally he referred to the hopefulness with which he regarded the situation—pessimism he declared to be a fell disease—and he trusted that he would be able to carry it to the end of his responsibilities. Those hopes were based on one assumption, that Indians, throughout India, and the British with himself should all work in unison, in the closest co-operation for the development of Indian resources, for India's prosperity, so that India might become beyond all doubt contented, prosperous and happy.

No one will dispute that it was with a very full and attractive programme that the freshly appointed Viceroy started on his new mission. He had been so phenomenally successful in every other sphere that he may be excused for concluding that failure in this case was impossible. Yet he fully recognized, his words oft-repeated are there to prove it, that for complete and enduring success the co-operation of the Indian people was essential. If he was to work for them they were to work with him. That was the only understanding possible on which any considerable success could be achieved.

But the other side of the question must not be overlooked. If there was an obligation on the new Viceroy, and through him on the British Legislature, there was also a corresponding obligation on the people of India. They were to do their share, they were to participate in the efforts for good as they were in its benefits. Had this point been grasped by any section of the community? Was there any one to give expression to sane and sober views? The problem of the present, the recompense of the future, depends very much on the joint efforts and participation of the governed and the governing, on the British and the Indians working together. All depends on that happy and salutary combination.

CHAPTER VIII

PRINCELY TOURS AND THEIR MORAL

By way of relaxation from the toils and troubles of the active administration which allowed of little peace and no leisure, and in the discharge of one set of his duties as Representative of the King-Emperor, Lord Reading undertook from time to time tours of the capitals of the leading ruling Princes. All Viceroys had been in the habit of paying such visits, but after the transfer of the seat of the supreme Government from Calcutta to Delhi they became more frequent, and the conditions under which they were made were easier and more convenient. Here the Viceroy found havens of tranquillity and peace which must have struck his imagination by contrast with what was going on in the regions subject to direct British rule where criticism was rampant.

Lord Reading's first visit was to Kashmir, famous for its hospitality not only to Viceroys and the great ones of the earth, but also to all travellers, tourists, and explorers. The marvellous scenery, "the beauty of this glorious country," to use his own words, recalling the poet's phrase "if there is Heaven on this earth, it is *here*," made a great impression on Lord Reading's mind. It was his first holiday after arriving in India and his mind was receptive. His arrival synchronized with an era of reform in that State which disclosed the fact that even under halcyon conditions social and political problems must arise. Yet they were mild in comparison with those Lord Reading had left for a few brief moments behind him, and when he perceived how factious opposition and inordinate criticism were silenced by the "majesty" of the Prince, he might have been pardoned for lamenting the absence of autocratic power and authority in what are now called Constitutional countries.

Two months elapse and the Viceroy finds himself in Bikaner at the opening of the year 1922. The Maharaja

of Bikaner, like the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, is a soldier, but of a younger generation. He has seen service in France and in many other spheres. He is the new Bayard of India, following in the steps of the late Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur and Idar, and wherever his steps have taken him he has excited admiration and even gained the affection of all men. But the Maharaja of Bikaner has represented India in other spheres than the field. He was in the War Cabinet, he was at Paris during the Peace Conference, he was Chancellor, more than once elected, of the Chamber of Princes, and no one has figured more prominently of recent years as the representative of that chivalrous period of Indian history revealed for all time in the Mahabharatha. This was the Prince who acted as Lord Reading's second host.

There was a serious note in Lord Reading's address at Bikaner. "His Highness has referred to the work in front of the Princes of India. He has mentioned also some sinister aspersions and evil motives attributed to them. If I have heard of them they have left no impression. I have not the faintest doubt—indeed, who that has studied recent events could have doubt?—of the loyalty and devotion of the Princes of India to the King-Emperor. That there are difficult times ahead is perhaps not questionable, but I am not minded to discuss the general political conditions of India. I do not minimize them, neither am I inclined to exaggerate them. It is possible to be firm and yet conciliatory. The desire of my Government is to do that which is best and wisest in the interests of India and in the interests of the Empire."

The third visit was to Rewah, in Central India, when the Viceroy had his first experience of installing a prince in power on the attainment of his majority. We may trace a shadow of his own anxieties in the words of admonition, and at the same time of encouragement, with which Lord Reading may be said to have launched the young Chieftain on his public career—

"It is a heavy burden of responsibility that you are undertaking to-day, for the discharge of which a high sense

of duty and untiring industry are required. You have been ordained to take your place as head of this State at a period of change and transition. Events in the world have given birth to new ideas. Forces are at work which have awakened a new consciousness everywhere among the masses. New aspirations have been engendered, new standards are being created, new tests are being applied to the old order of things. These forces cannot be ignored or excluded from consideration. They must be faced and dealt with. You have the priceless heritage of the devotion of your subjects.

"In these times of change and difficulty they will look to you for guidance, and for sympathetic insight into those new influences which cannot fail to stir them. The best advice I can give you in these difficult circumstances is to hold the welfare of your subjects constantly in your thoughts ; to keep in touch with their hopes, try to understand and meet their difficulties, attempt to win their confidence, and take them into yours. When you are convinced that in any direction a reasonable desire for advance has been established and expressed, let a wise hand guide wholesome and reasonable development on the lines best suited to your local needs."

The second investiture at which Lord Reading acted on behalf of the King-Emperor was that of the young Maharaja of Jodhpur, the hereditary Rajput Chief of Marwar. In recent years this family was made illustrious by the achievements and conspicuous personality of General Sir Pratab Singh who died on 4th September, 1922. On three occasions he had acted as Regent of the State on behalf of his nephews. The most important passage in the Viceroy's address read—

"You commence your rule to-day with every hope and promise for the future. The foundations have been well and truly laid, and it now remains for your Highness to build up your administration on those foundations in a manner worthy of the high traditions which you have inherited. The business of government is more difficult and complex than it has ever been. There has been a change in the world since the Great War. Old ideals have been

disturbed, old methods have been criticized. This unsettlement of ideas has its influence for good, but a period of transition and change inevitably brings difficulties to the task of the administrator. People are no longer content with the same standards which satisfied their forefathers, and your Sardars and people will expect to share in the moral and material advancement of the present day.

"Our thoughts turn to the important State which your Highness has been called to administer. We survey the vast field awaiting your labour. What infinite scope for development and progress is to be seen here! What noble and beneficent work lies ready at your hand for execution! We think of the great population over whom you will rule. We reflect and it is a solemn thought that your acts will affect the destinies of thousands upon thousands in Jodhpur State to-day, and of generations yet unborn. By your wisdom and sympathy, peace and prosperity, contentment and progress may be their lot. Bound to them by the old traditions of their loyalty to your House and stock, it is within your grasp to secure and keep that most priceless possession, the love and reverence of your grateful subjects, and this is why, your Highness, our thoughts are with you to-day. That is why this is an occasion of rejoicing. That is why all our wishes and hopes follow you, the inheritor of a great past and position, and we trust the sponsor of a great future for Jodhpur."

So far the Viceroy had visited only Hindu States. His first visit to those under Moslem rule was paid to Rampur, the prominent Rohilla principality in the United Provinces. The Rampur State yields to none in its claim to stand in the first rank in its devotion to the British Crown. The lapse of time and the changes which the years have brought have only strengthened those ties of mutual trust and regard. A hundred years ago, Shuja-ul-Mulk, the fugitive Afghan ruler, wrote to the Nawab of that time (1823), and pleaded for support and sympathy on the ground of favours and protection bestowed on the Nawab's ancestors by the Durani Shah, Ahmad Khan, but before he replied to the letter the Nawab submitted it to the British Government and

requested its orders. This gesture was symptomatic. In the Mutiny the Nawab's loyalty was conspicuous, during several of the frontier wars the Rampur contingent figured at the front, and in the Great War the Nawab's Imperial Service Troops distinguished themselves, especially in East Africa.

Lord Reading's speech at the State banquet (3rd Feb., 1923) was particularly felicitous—

"Your Highness' support and help have been forthcoming not only in times of war. Peace has its special problems, and the difficulties which confront the administration in internal affairs have their peculiar perplexities and dangers. As an enlightened and experienced Moslem ruler and the head of the Rohillas, my predecessors and the heads of the local administration of the United Provinces have often turned to you for advice and sought your co-operation. In 1910, standing where I now stand, Lord Minto acknowledged the great debt which the Government of India owed to Your Highness for your steadfast loyalty and co-operation in the difficult times confronting his Government, and I note that only last year Sir Harcourt Butler, just before laying down his office as Governor of the United Provinces, paid a notable tribute to the great value of your advice and unstinted support in the difficult situation with which he had been faced. It is for this reason that I particularly value your understanding appreciation of the difficulties of my task. I am profoundly sensible of the position occupied in the Commonwealth of India by the Indian States and their Rulers. I hold the obligations of my Government to them sacred, and look to them on their own part not only for that assistance in times of external dangers which Your Highness has rendered without stint, but also for continuous co-operation in the great task which lies before the administration—the advancement of India and her people, her steady and peaceful progress to higher planes, material and moral well-being and her eventual attainment of a high place worthy of her great population and ancient civilization in the Empire and the World."

From Rampur the Viceroy passed on at a brief interval

to Bhopal, the great Moslem State of Central India, ruled under exceptional circumstances by a succession of Begum Sahibas whose reputation for prudence and sagacity is world-wide. Lord Reading struck a personal note in his address at the State banquet (19th Feb., 1923)—

“Long after our departure fond recollections will bring us back to the beautiful capital which Your Highness and your ancestors have established amid the undying glories of hill and foliage and lake. But beautiful as is Your Highness’ capital, the setting provides no more than a fitting background for the romantic and picturesque history of this State. My thoughts turn back to the two hundred years replete with moving incident and great adventure which have elapsed since the daring Dost Mahomed Khan founded this House and carved out this principality in central India. My imagination is at once struck by the wonderful tale of fidelity to agreements and of devotion to duty which has characterized the rulers of Bhopal and the lady representatives of that ruling line in particular. These qualities are constant and recur like a golden thread through the chequered pattern of the past.

“The story is the same when I turn to the brave deeds of Moti Begum, sister of the Nawab Hayat Mahomed Khan, fourth ruler of Bhopal, who held Islamnuggur Fort at all risks against the enemy in 1797, or in later times to the valuable help afforded to the British in the difficult times of the Mutiny by Your Highness’ grandmother, the Nawab Sikander Begum. It was of a piece with such great traditions that Your Highness at the outbreak of the Great War placed the whole resources of your State at the disposal of the British Crown, that your Heir Apparent, Nawab Sir Mahomed Nasrullah Khan, volunteered his personal services at the front, and that moral and material support of a most valuable kind was constantly tendered by Your Highness, Your Highness’ family, and your State to the British Government throughout that time of stress and anxiety.”

Here as elsewhere Lord Reading could not but envisage the situation in India, for the new conditions and demands affect the self-governing States in but a very slightly inferior

degree to that in which they relate to the position of the supreme Government. Unreasonable expectations, insatiable appetites, can only result in there being no government at all. Lord Reading took up the subject at the end of his discourse.

"The necessity for better channels of communication between my Government and the Indian States is engaging my attention. Your Highness has alluded to changes in the atmosphere of India, changes not peculiar to India but occurring in all parts of the world as a result of evolution following recent events and of the age in which we live. These are times which call for the constant exercise of experienced guidance and wise statesmanship. I welcome the further opportunity afforded me of studying at first hand the position and importance of the Indian States in the Indian body politic and of considering what developments the future may have in store for them amid the extensive changes which are now taking place in the social order and political life of the Indian continent. The great body of the subjects of these States turn with implicit faith and traditional loyalty to their ruler for help in their difficulties, and for guidance in these new and shifting conditions. There is no more precious possession than this heritage of trust and attachment. Wise rulers like Your Highness take steps to ensure that nothing is left undone on their part to cherish and retain it. In these changing times it is a source of pleasure to me to have observed on all sides evidence that this devotion is a living force in Bhopal and rests not only on traditional sentiments but on the firm basis of gratitude."

The third Moslem State visited was the most important of all, Hyderabad, the dominion ruled by H.E.H. the Nizam, who represents a dynasty that has reigned for two hundred years. By its size, population, wealth, natural resources and prestige it is deservedly known as "the premier State of India." Lord Reading received that hospitable welcome for which the Hyderabad State is renowned, and the visit was marked by a display of goodwill and cordiality which shed upon it a peculiar lustre and

significance. This was voiced in the Viceroy's speech at the State banquet given in his honour at the Chowmahalla Palace on 23rd November, 1923. The full text reads as follows—

“ Your Exalted Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,

“ I thank Your Exalted Highness most sincerely for the graceful terms in which you have proposed our health and for the kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our visit to Hyderabad, the premier State in India. You have been good enough to allude in most appreciative terms to myself and to what I have been able to accomplish for India, both in and out of India. You have spoken of the common interest and common ideals which unite the Ruler of this State to the British Government as their faithful Ally.

“ I value Your Exalted Highness' words, for your wide responsibilities as a ruler of more than 12 million people, and the traditions of your State of association with the British in the past in the preservation of peace in the Deccan, and its support of the British Empire in the recent Great War, give Your Exalted Highness a just perception both of the magnitude and difficulties of my task as Viceroy and Governor-General, and enable you fully to appraise the great destiny which awaits India, and to which I seek to lead her. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as representative of His Majesty, recently paid a well-deserved tribute to the great services rendered by Your Exalted Highness' State in the War.

“ These have been already so fully acknowledged that they now form an important part of the history of the co-operation of India with the British Empire during that critical period. It is not only in time of war that the Indian States have their lot and part in India as a whole. On her general contentment and prosperity, as Your Exalted Highness observed, depends their well-being. As she advances and prospers, as she gains in importance in the Empire, as she attains a loftier place in Imperial Councils, and a higher degree of respect in the eyes of the nations of

the world, in such measure is there likewise increase in the position of the Indian States which form so important a part in her entity. In British India my Government is striving to give India a wider field of self-expression, to use for her advancement the best that is in her, and, by extending the association of Indians with the administration and with the representation of her interests in the Empire, to help her on to the goal which all who love her would see her reach. I wish to associate the States and their rulers in these ideals, and let them share in my hopes and aspirations. I regard it as important to keep them well informed of the improvements which are tending to India's progress and advance, for the great place which awaits her in the Empire should be filled by a united India, by India as a whole.

" I felicitate Your Exalted Highness on the expansion of the machinery of your Executive Government, which I trust will conduce, as you anticipate, to the efficient working of the administration, and continue to deserve the confidence both of Your Exalted Highness and of your subjects. I have heard with great interest of the activities of your Government in many directions calculated to benefit your State and to enhance the well-being of your subjects. The progress in irrigation works and in railway development which are calculated to bring increased revenue to the State, while improving the lot of its cultivators, must be a source of special gratification to Your Exalted Highness. In no direction has expansion been so remarkable as in the case of education. I hope that the rapid expanse of education facilities in your State will find its reward in the quickening of mind and character in the rising generation, for in the development of the general level of intelligence among the people the hopes of future progress in the State are bound up.

" All who study Indian educational problems will watch with interest the scheme inaugurated by Your Exalted Highness in the Osmania University for teaching up to the highest standard through the medium of Urdu. Her Excellency, I know, will be much interested in the Hospital

scheme which is nearing completion after an expenditure of nearly 19 lakhs of rupees. It is greatly to the credit of the administration that so many works and projects of the highest importance have been successfully brought to fruition in a period of financial depression and that, in spite of bad seasons, the soundness of the financial position has nevertheless been maintained.

"I thank Your Exalted Highness once more for the cordial welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself, and for your princely hospitality, of which we shall cherish the memory."

What is the moral of these princely visits? Is it not double-edged? To say that the ruling Princes of India have their ordained place in the world of which they compose so conspicuous a part is but to utter a truism, and does not greatly help the political machine to revolve. The relations of the Supreme Government with those Rulers, some of whom are by treaty Sovereigns, have to be rendered closer and more intimate. In one of the speeches quoted in this chapter there was reference to that need. It is no secret that the system of Residents has long been regarded as moribund. The time has passed for ever when self-governing and self-respecting States could be held in tutelage. The time is coming when political agents will have to be less of administrative autocrats and more of diplomatic counsellors. It may well be that men of different training and more pliable temperament will be required for those delicate posts than the past has known.

But there is a greater need behind. There is no State of the first rank in India—I use the term "first rank" advisedly because many of the second rank were created by British policy on the ruins of their seniors—that does not cherish some grievance or grievances from old times against the Supreme Power. Would it not be well to make an effort conjointly and with good intent to terminate all these controversies, to wipe out these injuries, and heal these sores by concessions—they must come from the British Government which is in the position of possessor—to be embodied in a new set of Treaties? That is the side of the question

that is somewhat overlooked, yet on its proper and prompt handling the hearty co-operation of the Indian States with the Supreme Government largely depends. It would be very sad if the perception of this home truth were acted upon only after events had progressed so rapidly as to leave no place for the remedy.

We approach the other side of the problem. It is true that the British Government in its well meaning effort to prepare or endow India—and this means specifically British-administered India—with self-government has found itself confronted not, as it expected, with loud-voiced gratitude, but with cavils, criticism, and even menace. Let us suppose for a moment that in face of that storm of popular indignation, or factious organization, the British Raj is swept away, or comes to the decision that the more dignified mode is to withdraw from the scene, what follows? Are the Indian States and their Rulers so blind as not to realize that the popular demands made and carried at the expense of the British Raj one day would not be enforced with greater insistence at their expense the next? Not a bit of it. The Indian rulers see quite clearly what lies ahead for them in all this Sovietic and Republican agitation and plotting. Did not the Nawab of Tonk, another of our Moslem Chieftains, set an example last year by making short work of those professional agitators who indulged in indiscretions within the limits of that dominion?

There is no doubt that the interests of the Supreme Government and of the autonomous administrations of India are one and the same. They are based on internal peace and external security, the administration of justice and the contentment of the people within the bounds of reason and possibility. As they have the same objects in common, there seems every reason why they should adopt an identical policy and observe the same line of action. But it must not be decided on a one-sided principle. If the British Parliament, ignorant as it must be of the true local conditions, has gone too fast, that is no reason for the ruling States to follow its lead blindly; if it has moved too slowly,

or in the wrong way, that is no reason why the ruling States should not press on or rectify the course. It is co-operation that is needed, and for that the means and the methods should be discovered without loss of time, and with all due discretion as well as diligence and whole-hearted zeal.

CHAPTER IX

FROM SÈVRES TO LAUSANNE

THE Treaty of Sèvres not accepted by but imposed upon the unfortunate Sultan of Turkey of the moment—a man who had always been opposed to the War—marked the limit of the self-sufficiency and blindness of the autocrats of the Paris Conference, who recoloured the map of a great part of the world according to what they considered and called “idealism.” It may be suggested that when they took up the Turkish question they were rather fatigued by their earlier labours in other directions, and that their pre- and post-prandial conferences, and their lucubrations under the electric light representing the ancient candle, had deprived them of some of the elements of reason, viz. a true sense of proportion and the power to discriminate between the possible and the impossible. These men of wisdom had made up their minds that Turkey did not count, that the Sultan was a helpless victim for the block, that the Turks had not a bit of fight left in them, and that, if they had, there were those valiant Greeks ready to fall upon them. Never was there a more striking illustration of the old proverb: “With what little wisdom is the world governed!”

If these self-arbiters of Europe, who settled nothing, had reflected for a moment, they could not have been blind to the fact that the Sultan of Turkey stood for all men hold dear as the Head Sovereign and leader of a religion which counts at least 220,000,000 followers, and that of that total 70,000,000 are members of the British Empire and fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor. Had they reflected a little longer, they could not have imagined that those millions would be indifferent to the manner in which the Sultan of Turkey was to be treated by them. Was it likely that the repercussion of such unwise and unreflecting action would not extend to India? But, if the terms of the Sèvres

Treaty were both severe and unjust, the method of giving them effect, even before they were drafted, was arbitrary and brutal. Without any treaty Greece was given Smyrna. What had Greece done for the Allies? Turkey had been an open and honourable foe, but Greece had been a traitor. On the quays of the Piræus the Greeks had shot down in cold blood British and French marines. Was that a valid claim to British gratitude? Many well-informed persons had already asked the searching question, how much of the Dardanelles failure was due to Greek treachery? Nothing of that sort could be alleged against the Turks. They had come to a wrong decision, that was all, and as men they accepted the consequences.

But there were those binding pledges of 1914 to the Moslems of India, and in January, 1918, while the War was still in progress, the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, was fully conscious of them, and he was the more conscious of them because at that particular moment he was alive to the tactical advantage of getting Turkey out of the war. Did not the strategists inform him that to break the German front in Turkey and Bulgaria was to turn the Hindenburg Line? and whether true or not the immediate effect was obvious. That was the moment Mr. Lloyd George set himself to the task of placating the Indian Moslems and satisfying the world of Islam. Here are his words—

“We are not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor which are predominantly Turkish in race, while we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople—the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized.”

That assurance was given to “appease the Mahomedan population of India which was disturbed.” It did appease Indian Moslem opinion, for it was accepted at its face value, on the promise of a British statesman. Mr. Lloyd George himself diagnosed the situation quite correctly when he added: “There is nothing which would damage British power in Asia more than the feeling that you could not trust the British word. That is the danger. It would be

a fatal reputation for us." With that accurate persuasion it will always be a matter to marvel at that it was Mr. Lloyd George himself who first shook "trust in the British word."

The Treaty of Sèvres did, as a matter of fact, leave the Turks in Constantinople, but under what conditions and on what terms? Thrace was forfeited, Adrianople was surrendered, and the Sultan was to exist in his Palace as best he could within range of the guns of his racial enemies! One of "the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor" was to be surrendered in the Vilayet of Smyrna, and with it the most advantageously placed and flourishing commercial port in the Turkish Empire. How was it that so offensive a condition was allowed to creep into a Treaty that was on no account to give umbrage to the Moslems of India? The control of the Straits gone, Adrianople lost, and Smyrna surrendered, what remained of the Sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire? Not one of them could be included in what might be termed the reservations in the Declaration of January, 1918, viz. "Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine," which were said to be entitled to "a recognition of their separate national conditions."

Smyrna having been assigned to the Greeks without any Treaty, while the negotiations for one were being long drawn out, they were told to take possession, and the task was made easy for them by the disarmament of the Turkish soldiery and the presence of a strong Allied squadron which commanded the forts and quays of Smyrna with their guns. The landing was unopposed, not a shot was fired, the Turkish authorities issued peremptory orders that no resistance was to be attempted. How did the Greeks behave on landing? They acted as if they were in a sacked town, several hundred officials and officers were murdered in cold blood, houses were plundered, women stripped for their jewellery, and in pure savagery houses were fired and pulled to the ground. The date of this calamitous incident was 19th May, 1919.

The atrocities in the town of Smyrna were exceeded by those in the districts outside it. Ten thousand people were

massacred, one hundred thousand helpless survivors fled for safety to such places of refuge as they could find in remote districts, and the details of the fiendish acts committed by the Greeks remain too revolting for the printed page. A limit was imposed to their advance by the Turkish National Army, which with inferior numbers and without guns beat the valiant Greeks at Nazili and Hivali. It was an English eye-witness who asked—

“What was the Allied Fleet doing to allow this sort of thing to go on? What about the Indian Army? What will the Moslem section of it say when they learn that they and their friends have fought and died to hand over a large number of their brother Moslems to their bitterest foes and the most fanatical people who call themselves Christians?”

Every effort was made to suppress or distort the facts, and to hide from the public the massacres in Smyrna and the interior which were repeated eventually in Thrace and the Troad.

None the less, in the summer of the year 1919, the Greeks were in possession of Smyrna and the greater part of its Vilayet. At the same time the Greek advance had reached a limit. Outside its outposts were National forces of unknown numbers and efficiency holding what remained of Turkish sovereignty, still embracing the fine province of Anatolia. The Greeks could not see or measure their opponents, and yet they were uneasy. There was reason for it.

The licence given to the Greeks in 1919 to seize Smyrna was extended, in July 1920, to Eastern Thrace including the fine city of Adrianople. The Greek occupation effected under the authority and with the co-operation of the Allied Powers was completed without bloodshed. The Sultan's remaining possessions in Europe were encircled. He was more of a prisoner in Dolma Bagtche than the Pope in the Vatican. He slept within range of the cannon of his bitterest foes. The promise that the Sovereign of the Ottomans should be left in Constantinople was reduced to a mockery. If that sort of conduct were to be regarded as the fulfilment of a solemn pledge the openly broken word

of the bare-faced criminal would be preferable. But there is still a Nemesis in human affairs.

When the Greeks landed at Smyrna in May, 1919, they called on those Moslems who wished to save their lives to shout "Vive Venizelos!" But at the end of 1920 the star of Venizelos suffered an eclipse. In December of that year Constantine, the enemy-king who had linked his fortunes with those of his brother-in-law, William the Unmentionable, was back in Athens. The Allies did not recognize him, but he was there. To re-establish his position it was necessary to do something desperate, to associate his name with some striking achievement that should excite the national sentiment, and prove that Constantine was superior to Venizelos. Accordingly the King announced his intention early in 1921 to resume the war against Angora. It will, perhaps, some day be considered strange that the Peace-makers of the World did not conceive it to be part of their duties to prohibit this war of wilful aggression. No other explanation can be offered than that some of them were in sympathy with the Greek project and hoped that it would succeed, and for a brief moment it seemed as if they would have their wish.

In the summer of 1921, Constantine took the field in person, and at first all went as well with his plan as he could have desired. He drove back the Angoran outposts, he gained a victory at Kutahia, and his friends and admirers loudly proclaimed that he would finish the business begun at Smyrna amid the ruins of Angora. Just at the moment when the assured triumph was proclaimed came news of another character. The Greek advance was stayed, they had suffered reverses, they had to yield ground, and to retire on a defensive position behind the river Scheria.

In March, 1922, the three principal Powers—Britain, France and Italy—having finally abandoned all hope of inducing the United States to accept a Mandate, modified their programme of supporting Greece, and called upon her to evacuate Asia Minor, and promised to set up a special régime of their own devising in the Vilayet of Smyrna. It will always be held amazing that the Greeks refused to comply with this order, and they must have felt assured of

the support and sympathy of powerful persons to have flouted the three great Powers as they did. Instead of complying, King Constantine made strenuous efforts for a fresh campaign.

This final adventure began with a most extraordinary episode. It was well known that the Greeks were making extensive military preparations, but it was generally assumed that these were directed against Anatolia. At the end of July, however, it was suddenly revealed that the Greeks had collected 25,000 men at Rodosto for the purpose of seizing Constantinople by a coup de main. As this act would inevitably have brought on a general war Britain opposed it and moved her fleet. The authors of this hare-brained scheme had to fall back on their alternative project of a renewed attempt on Anatolia. Mr. Lloyd George (that "great but eccentric genius," to use Mr. Montagu's words) a few days after the Rodosto affair passed a eulogium in the House of Commons (4th August, 1922) on the prowess of the Greeks, extolling in particular the marvellous strategy displayed in the previous campaign, and championing their rights to Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace. This dithyramb was meant to herald a Greek triumph, but an elegy would have been more appropriate, for, within four weeks of its utterance, the Greek forces were "scattered and strewn."

The rout of the Greeks, on and after 26th August, was so complete that the escape of any part of their army from Smyrna was due to the protection of the Foreign squadrons. This disaster ended the brief reign of the restored Constantine. The Army which he had promised to lead to victory revolted and turned upon him. For a second time he abdicated and passed into exile, this time finally. Meantime the Angoran forces were pressing on in every direction. The occupation of Smyrna was complete, and an end was put to all the projects for its disposal on its final reversion not by diplomacy, but by force of arms, to Turkey. But Mustapha Kemal's victorious troops were also pressing on to the Straits and the Sea of Marmora. A small British force was in Constantinople with other troops, a smaller body of British troops was at Chanak on the Asiatic shore

of the Straits, and in the adjacent waters were a certain number of ships of war, but no adequate preparations had been made to withstand a serious attack from a wholly unexpected quarter. It became necessary to negotiate. An Armistice was concluded at Mudania, and hostilities were averted by the concession that the Greek troops should clear out of Eastern Thrace within fifteen days. This condition being complied with, time was secured for profitable thinking and wise negotiation, with the result that the Treaty of Lausanne superseded the discredited and impossible Treaty of Sèvres.

This brief summary of events in Europe and Asia Minor will facilitate the study of what had been happening in India. Before Lord Reading's arrival, the occasion of the occupation of Smyrna in 1919 was seized by Lord Chelmsford to represent that the Moslems were greatly moved by the course of events, and that they regarded the treatment of the Sultan of Turkey as a breach of faith towards themselves. The promises of 1914, the precise pledges of 1918, were cited to show that the policy pursued in regard to Constantinople, Thrace and Asia Minor was in direct violation of those promises and pledges. There was never any doubt that the Secretary of State, Mr. E. S. Montagu, strongly supported the Viceroy, and that all the members of the Government of India were in accord. Moreover, two very eminent Indian Moslems were in England—I mean the Aga Khan and the Right Honourable Ameer Ali—to express the true sentiments of Islam, and an anonymous writer in the *Fortnightly Review* of March, 1920, contributed some very pungent remarks to the discussion in an article bearing the title "Constantinople and India." He wrote with other things—

"The All-India Moslem League has held many meetings and has issued more than one protest and appeal on the question. One thing its leaders certainly cannot be accused of, and that is any want of clearness. We are told in no uncertain terms that, if the Turks are turned out of Constantinople, England will be held responsible for their humiliation and that a tremendous strain will be

placed on their loyalty. There never has been such plain speaking in regard to any political proposal of our day, and responsible Ministers should pay heed to it while there is still time to prevent the most serious trouble and avert endless mischief. It will be impossible for them to excuse themselves later on in times of internal turmoil and strife by alleging that they were not fully apprized and warned of the deep feeling aroused in the breasts of over sixty million people by a proposal which seems to that vast community an outrage and a crime.

"There is reason to believe that those persons who will direct the British policy in regard to Constantinople at the present juncture are labouring under a curious delusion as to one of the salient facts. It seems that they are persuaded that the Moslem World out of Turkey regards the Sultan of the Ottomans merely as the Head of their religion, a sort of Pope; and that it is immaterial whether he remain in Constantinople, or is transferred to Broussa or elsewhere. This view is based on ignorance or misapprehension. The Sultan is not a Pope, he is the Caliph, a sovereign leader. The British Government has been told this repeatedly by every responsible spokesman in the name of Islam, and in this matter it is more important to know and appreciate what the Moslems of India say and feel than to be told what persons in Downing Street believe. They have no right to believe in this matter anything but the overwhelming evidence that is exposed to their eyes and poured into their ears. A prominent member of the Mahomedan party said recently at a public meeting at Allahabad that he seriously doubted whether the British Government realized the feelings of the Mussulman community at the present time, or knew what they were talking about. These are ominous words that should not be treated with indifference."

Before Lord Reading arrived in India he had made himself fully acquainted with the views of the Indian Mahomedans, and had thoroughly mastered all the points in his frequent discussions with the Secretary of State, Mr. E. S. Montagu, who was frankly and whole heartedly the champion

of the Moslem Cause but surrounded by pro-Hellenist colleagues. Lord Reading came to share his views and arrived at the same conclusions. How could any one responsible for and towards India conclude otherwise? But both had to face an adverse position. The Greeks were at that moment in possession of much of Asia Minor, and their triumph had been easily achieved. No one would listen to the warning that the wave of Moslem indignation would surely return, and sweep the Greeks into the Ægean.

It was necessary to be patient and prudent. Something had to be done to appease the Indian Moslems, but in face of the actual position it did not seem possible to secure for them all they demanded and desired. Lord Reading's first utterances, therefore, after his arrival in India had to be restrained by caution and some degree of uncertainty as to the future. It is by the light of the situation in what is called "the Near East" that his early speeches should be read and interpreted. In his reply to the Deputation from the Moslem Community of Delhi on 30th November, 1921, he said—

"I thank you for the opportunity you have taken of presenting in emphatic but in courteous terms the views which the Moslem community of Delhi and His Majesty's Mussulman subjects in India hold relating to the Terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. Ever since I became acquainted with India I have been impressed by the intensity of Mahomedan feeling in India regarding the terms of this Treaty. Immediately upon my appointment the Secretary of State and I had lengthy discussions upon this most important subject. You are well aware that you have in him a very staunch and faithful supporter of Indian Moslem opinion. Throughout the various representations that have been made from India, to some of which you refer in your address to me, I noted at every turn how strenuously and devotedly my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, had laboured with the Secretary of State in the cause of Moslem India. Since my arrival here the subject has never been absent from my mind, and I have endeavoured, and with the invariable support of my Government, to impress your views upon His Majesty's

Government and to endorse them as fully as lay in my power. There must always be great sympathy for those who seek to remedy what they conscientiously believe is an injustice to their religion, and this sympathy is never denied by the British with their love of justice and complete freedom in religious matters, and I beg you not to think that the Indian Mahomedan representations, based upon their religious sentiments, have fallen on deaf ears. Indeed a moment's reflection will prove the contrary, for the events of the year must be still fresh in the memory. I need only refer to-day to the deputation of Indian Moslems that waited upon the Prime Minister in London in the earlier part of the year, and to the modifications of the Treaty that were then favoured by him. You will also remember the proposals made at the London Conference to bring about a lasting and equitable peace. Had they been accepted they might not have satisfied all your wishes, but they would have constituted very important modifications in favour of Turkey. Unfortunately hostilities were continued and peace has even yet not been made between Turkey and Greece.

"It is, I am afraid, no consolation to reflect that all this trouble has followed upon the unhappy entry of Turkey into the Great War, and I shall not dwell upon it. Neither shall I dwell on the loyalty and devotion of Indian Mahomedans during the war and on their gallant services save to observe that the Indian Mahomedans may justly plead these in aid when seeking recognition of Indian Moslem opinion in the settlement. I note with special satisfaction your appreciation of the past and present efforts of the Government of India to bring home to the British Cabinet the depth and intensity of the Mahomedan feeling aroused by the Turkish Treaty, and by the failure down to the present moment to bring its terms more into harmony with the sentiments of the Indian Moslem World.

I am fully conscious of the responsibility that devolves upon me and my Government to continue to press your views upon His Majesty's Government, and to do my utmost to make them effective. I can assure you that the gratitude

you express indicative of your appreciation of our efforts in this respect will be an encouragement to us in the future.

"Notwithstanding this recognition, you however observe that the Government of India's efforts cannot be a source of comfort to Indian Mussulmans unless some effective result is obtained. This view has been represented to me on various occasions in many conversations I have had with leading Mahomedans, and I have felt the force of it. I sympathize with your sense of disappointment, and wish I could completely relieve it, but, although I cannot for obvious reasons make definite assertions regarding the results that may be achieved in the future, yet I feel that I should give you such indications as are open to me, and which may, and I hope will, prove of assistance to you. You will understand that I am speaking of a complex international problem, which has still to be solved, and that its solution does not rest with me or my Government, save in so far as the situation may be affected by our representations of your views and powerfully endorsed by the Secretary of State in the British Cabinet. But neither does the solution of the problem rest with Great Britain alone. If it did, the conflict would long since have terminated. The British Empire has every reason to wish for peace between Turkey and Greece. Britain's position has been that of strict neutrality, and, in spite of malevolent rumour, I trust you will have no doubt upon this subject. She has always been ready to lend her good offices to bring about an end of the war. The attempts hitherto made have unhappily not yet produced definite results, but there are indications that the time is not far distant when the meeting to settle the terms of peace must take place. The peace His Majesty's Government desire is a fair and equitable peace which will pay due regard to the religious sentiments of Mahomedans. You emphasize the objections of Indian Moslems in particular to the international control over Constantinople, the grant of Smyrna and Thrace to Greece, and the abolition of the religious suzerainty of the Caliph over the Holy Places of Islam; and it is, as I understand it, with the view of securing the modification of these Terms of the Treaty of

Sèvres that you have waited upon me to-day and presented this Address.

“ If I do not discuss these particular problems at any length let me assure you that it is not for lack of sympathy. Your views, all that you have placed before me, will again be represented to His Majesty’s Government. With the full authority of my Government I can assure you that I have already done my utmost to urge these modifications, and have used and shall use such influence as I may possess to make them effective. But I would ask you to remember that the Prime Minister, in answer to the deputation in London, and the Secretary of State, in his telegram to Dr. Ansari, have already stated their views in favour of freeing Constantinople from the international control imposed after the war with a reservation as to the internationalization of the Straits both in the interest of Turkey and of general peace. Again and from the same source it is apparent that His Majesty’s Government have not failed to recognize the importance to Moslems of the religious suzerainty of the Caliph over the Holy Places of Islam. As regards Smyrna and Thrace I do not think that your representations in this or in any respect are of no avail. They have already borne fruit as I have shown you, and I trust that when the terms are eventually made you will find that the views of the Indian Moslems have played a greater part than perhaps you have hitherto imagined in fashioning the Treaty, and more especially in its relations to the religious sentiments and aspirations of Moslems. It may be that all you would wish cannot be achieved. There are difficulties upon which I shall not dwell, but which must be apparent to you and to all who are interested in this question. Whatever the results, you may rest assured that not only have you and your fellow Moslems in India striven with intensity of conviction and religious fervour for the benefit of the Moslem religion, but you have certainly secured the sympathetic support of my Government. These continued representations by the Government of India have not failed, as I verily believe, to have effect upon the British Government. They might have acquired even greater strength but for

the agitation of extremists, who seem to labour under the delusion that revolutionary agitation will give better results than powerfully reasoned arguments temperately but forcibly urged by the leading men of your community."

The first visit Lord Reading paid to Calcutta in December, 1921, was made the occasion for the demonstration of the disturbed feelings entertained by the Moslems of Bengal at the treatment of Turkey and the Sultan. A deputation on their behalf was received by the Viceroy, and represented that in view of the great services that India had rendered during the war, and more particularly of those rendered by the Moslems, they had a right to demand from the Government the reconsideration of the Turkish question in accordance with the principles of fair play and justice, and they appealed to the Viceroy to make a strenuous effort to bring about a satisfactory solution of the question. At the same time they expressed their grateful appreciation of the keen and active interest that the Government of India had taken in the subject.

Lord Reading replying to this address said, "I may assure this deputation that I fully realize the strength of Mahomedan feeling on the subject which has my great sympathy, and from my first association with India I have wished to bring about a settlement which would really satisfy the Mahomedans.

"The British Government has been left in no doubt as to the views of Indian Mahomedans, and the Government of India would continue to insist by every means in their power upon the strength of their feelings. The impression I have formed is that Mahomedans generally feel that they have the sympathy and support of the Government of India, but that this was not bringing about the results they desired in the modification of the Treaty.

"I will ask the deputation not to come too lightly to that conclusion. The representations of the Government of India were having, at least I hope and believe, more effect than perhaps they were aware of. It is not possible to discuss publicly the situation in an international matter such as this, but I might give you a ray of hope. Within the

last few days I have heard from the Secretary of State that many of the representations we have made together are having good effect, and that he has reason to hope they will prove successful in bringing about a satisfactory settlement with Turkey at an early date. I will ask this deputation to bear in mind that if the result were not immediately visible the views of the Indian Mahomedans were having more effect than they realized. You may not obtain all that you have put forward. I wish indeed that you could, and I will certainly render all the help in my power. At least I think the conclusion will be very different from that of 1920. It is a mistake to think that the British Government is hostile to Islam. To treat religion apart from politics is a standing principle of the British Government."

Very shortly after this speech a change was produced in the whole situation by a dramatic incident. The moment was that at which a conference of the representatives of the three great Powers was arranged at Genoa to consider the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, and the reader will bear in mind from what was said in an earlier passage of this chapter that in the result Greece was ordered to evacuate Smyrna, that she evaded compliance with the order, and that she entered upon fresh military adventures which resulted in disaster some months later. In March, 1922, there was urgent need that the British Government should have no sort of doubt about the volume and intensity of Moslem feeling at the way in which Turkey was being treated. Animated by the desire to impress the force of these sentiments on the British Cabinet, Lord Reading, speaking as Viceroy and Governor-General, sent the following official telegram to the Secretary of State. It was sent from Delhi on 7th March and was preceded by the following statement—

"After consulting with all the Provincial Governments the Government of India have telegraphed to Mr. Montagu as follows,"—

The telegram itself read as follows—

"On the eve of the Greco-Turkish Conference we find it our duty again to lay before His Majesty's Government the

intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Sèvres Treaty.

"The Government of India are fully alive to the complexity of the problem, but India's services in the war, in which Indian Moslem troops so largely participated, and the support which the Indian Moslem cause is receiving throughout India, entitle her to claim the extremest fulfilment of her just and equitable aspirations.

"The Government of India particularly urge, subject to the safeguarding of the neutrality of the Straits, and of the security of the non-Moslem population, the following three points, namely—

1. The evacuation of Constantinople.
2. The suzerainty of the Sultan in the Holy Places.
3. The restoration of Ottoman Thrace (including Adrianople) and Smyrna.

The fulfilment of these three points is of the greatest importance to India."

The text of this telegram was published in the English papers on 9th March (Monday), and it was generally assumed that the publication was made "with the definite assent of His Majesty's Ministers."

This assumption was promptly shown to be erroneous, and it was immediately made clear that Mr. Montagu had acted on his sole responsibility. Into the ethics involved in a Cabinet Minister's acting of his own volition without the prior assent of his colleagues it is not my province to enter. The further incidents of the affair showed what was thought and deemed right and proper in London. The Prime Minister saw Mr. Montagu during the very day of the publication of the telegram, formal letters were exchanged between them, and Mr. Montagu placed his resignation in his Chief's hands and it was accepted. One passage in Mr. Montagu's letter of 9th March to the Prime Minister bears upon the remarks I shall venture to offer on the incident in its Imperial rather than its Party aspect. It runs, "I have been fully seized of the grave difficulties which have resulted from the Treaty of Sèvres in India, and I felt it to be my duty to do everything in my power to support

the Government of India. When, therefore, I was assured that the Government of India regarded this matter as one of the greatest urgency, and when I considered their request in this and in all its aspects, with the recollection of the many decisions on every class of subjects which the Government had found it inevitable to take without discussion in the Cabinet, I felt and feel that I was justified in the action that I took. I believe that there is much to be gained and little to lose by publicity in these matters, and that that was the reason why the representatives of India had been given up till now the fullest freedom in expressing their opinions."

In a postscript Mr. Montagu expressed the wish that the telegram he had sent in reply to Lord Reading's message should also be published, but this request was curtly refused on the plea that it would extend the area of the mischief.

A few days later Mr. Montagu speaking at Cambridge made a speech in which he attacked the Marquess Curzon with some personal bitterness, but without going into the asperities of the controversy it may be observed that the revelations of the *ex-Secretary of State* were rather piquant as to the methods of Cabinet rule by small sections, an inner camarilla, in the great Hush-Hush days. Mr. Montagu evidently did not see why he should not be allowed to do what some of his more powerful colleagues did by twos and threes; but he overlooked the fact that he stood alone, and also that he had resorted to publicity which certainly no other Cabinet Minister had ever done, at least in an open and candid form.

I come now to the Indian view of the affair. We all regarded and still remember Mr. Montagu's action as courageous, wise, and necessary in the true interests of India and the Empire, and, as he suffered for us, in the temporary blighting of his political career, we hold that he has the very strongest claims on our gratitude. It was a critical moment at which Lord Reading dispatched his telegram. The Government of India, he said, felt it to be their duty "again to lay before His Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Sèvres Treaty." The use of the word

"again" shows that there had been previous representations, probably several, but these had made no apparent impression on the minds of the British Cabinet for Hellenism remained its ideal, and those who claimed justice and fair play for Turkey were pushed into the background. The censorship had stifled independent thought in the press, and the public mind was confused and misled by the broadcasting of the narrow and prejudiced views of Downing Street. It required an earthquake to disturb this official serenity, to throw light on the dark places of Cabinet rule for the instruction of the people, and to switch off the official projects for exalting Greece at the price not merely of the disruption of the Empire, but also, and more fatal, of all faith in Britain's word. Mr. Montagu struck the seismic chord.

For a moment it looked as if the persons who had got rid of Mr. Montagu were hoping to upset Lord Reading also by a "caitiff blow." His was the bold telegram specifying points and laying down terms, almost at the very moment when the all-Highest three were packing up their trunks and listing their secretaries and typists for Genoa, where they were going to provide the World with some further proofs of their ineffable wisdom; and the Viceroy of India had intervened with some practical suggestions which, promptly adopted, would have removed all need for a visit to Genoa at all. The secret wishes of his opponents were revealed in Lord Curzon's statement in the House of Lords on 14th March, that "a subordinate branch of the British Government 6,000 miles away had dictated to the British Government what line it ought to follow in Thrace." Without taking up the challenge thus thrown down to the prerogatives of full Dominion *status*, it will be sufficient answer to say here that the peace of India was directly involved in the line to be taken in regard to Thrace, and that the final arrangements made at Lausanne established the wisdom of the Government of India, and disposed of the fantastic schemes that the British Government had championed under Venizelist influences from the time of the Smyrna Expedition in 1919 to the triumphant appearance of Mustapha Kemal on the scene three years later.

Lord Reading had also the courage to stand up for Mr. Montagu—the only one of his friends who did. Lord Reading declared in public “that the news of Mr. Montagu’s resignation came to him as a complete surprise,” and that he saw nothing in the publication of the Government of India’s telegram to explain it. In fact he added, “I take the fullest responsibility for the telegram sent not only because I am the head of the Government of India, but because the proposal originated with me.” He went on to say that he regarded Mr. Montagu’s retirement from the India Office “as a personal loss,” and he concluded a panegyric of his friend by dilating on “his devotion to India’s cause.” It seems most probable that when ruffled tempers have been calmed the views expressed by Lord Reading on the incident will be generally accepted, and that Mr. Montagu’s political sagacity and discernment will be more widely recognized.

Lord Reading weathered the storm raised by his political opponents and detractors. He was too firmly seated, his services were too striking, his world-reputation too great, and, unlike Mr. Montagu, his friends too many, for any Minister, or even a camarilla of Ministers however powerful, to deal him a *coup de Jarnac*. He continued even with greater energy if possible than before to press on the Home Government the necessity of modifying the Treaty of Sèvres and of satisfying the demands of the Indian Moslems. But it cannot be said that any change could be perceived in the policy of the British Government down to the moment in August, 1922, when Mr. Lloyd George extolled the Greeks, and upheld their cause. It is true that in March of that year a decision was come to at Genoa that the Greeks should evacuate Smyrna and Asia Minor, but as five months later this order had not been obeyed, and as the Greeks were then in open defiance of it preparing for a fresh campaign, the resolution, to say nothing of the good faith, of the British and the Allied Governments was not of a kind to make a deep or lasting impression in India and the other Moslem communities which were intently watching all that was happening within the limits of the old Turkish Empire.

It is unnecessary for me to say much about the change of scene that followed the overthrow of the Greek army, and the recovery of Ottoman Thrace. On the Straits and in the Sea of Marmora the Armistice of Mudania served its object in separating the Allied and Angoran forces by a short distance and a few barriers of barbed wire, and it will always be remembered to the credit of both parties that not a single collision or even one disagreeable incident occurred. This gave time for the negotiations at Lausanne for a new Treaty to fructify. Those negotiations proved long and at times stormy. Once they were broken off, but in the end they closed happily in concord. Of the offensive conditions included in the Treaty of Sèvres the worst were removed. Turkey became again mistress in her own house, and the cancelling of the capitulations left her greater freedom to introduce healthy and invigorating reforms. The Greek population was got out of Asia Minor, unlike the Greek intrusion in that region, without massacre, and the neutrality of the Straits was endorsed. Finally in April, 1924, the Treaty of Lausanne was ratified by the British Parliament and a new departure was confirmed in the relations of the two Empires which may, as we all hope, inaugurate a happier era of firm and lasting friendship. But to render the Treaty fully operative France has still to give in her ratification. This, unless trouble develops in Syria, will probably have been done before these lines appear in print.

It is appropriate in closing this chapter to give some evidence of the opinion prevalent among the Indian Moslems as to the great part Lord Reading had taken in bringing this happy result to pass and of the claim he had established on their gratitude. I cannot find better proof of these sentiments than is furnished in the Address presented to the Viceroy by twenty-five members of the Moslem Legislature on 26th July, 1923. The principal passages read as follows—

“The general interest evinced by your Excellency ever since you assumed charge of your high office and the thorough and uniform care taken by the Government of

India and Lord Chelmsford to place the Indian Moslem view-point before His Majesty's Government inspired us with the hope in September last when the pro-Greek attitude of the then British Premier was creating a crisis in the Near East, that the only constitutional way open to us of successfully helping our Turkish co-religionists was to approach the representative of our august Sovereign. It is our pleasant duty to acknowledge that that hope has been realized.

" We have assembled here to-day to express our deep sense of gratitude to Your Excellency and the Government of India on the signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty. The part played by Your Excellency and the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, who, we are sorry to note, is no longer a member of the Cabinet, will be gratefully remembered by us and future generations. Throughout a period of stress and storm Your Excellency never allowed your sense of true statesmanship to be influenced by the passing events of the day. The telegram of the 28th February, 1922, which embodied the views of the Provincial Governments, including the Ministers, showed how rightly Your Excellency's Government had gauged the real situation.

" Its publication was followed by the forced resignation of Mr. Montagu, which gave a shock to our community no less than to the rest of our countrymen. Good however cometh out of evil. The event went a long way in dispelling the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion in which a large section of our co-religionists were working, and they began to realize that, whatever might be the attitude of the British Cabinet, Your Excellency's Government had wholeheartedly undertaken to champion our cause. We realize that the disappearance of Mr. Montagu from Whitehall must have thrown the whole burden on Your Excellency and on your Government. It is most fortunate that India had at this critical time as the head of the Government a statesman of Your Excellency's sympathetic imagination, strong will and wide experience. The chequered course of events at Lausanne has at times been the cause of great anxiety, but we have reason to believe that during all this period of high

tension Your Excellency's Government has never relaxed its efforts.

"Your Excellency is aware of the high respect and admiration which the Moslem World entertains for Mustafa Kemal Pasha, whose wonderful genius has brought a glorious victory to the Turkish arms, but if there is one lesson to be taken from history more than another it is that military victory, unless followed by true statesmanship, snatches away from the hand of the victor the fruit of the victory. We rejoice to think that the Turkish hero combines in himself the qualities of a great general and of a true statesman. The attitude of the Turkish Government under his guidance encourages in us the hope that Turkey and Britain will realize the mutual advantages of the friendly understanding ripening into an Anglo-Turkish Entente."

CHAPTER X

THE BERAR TRUST

IF the request of the Nizam for the re-opening of the Berar question in His Highness's letter to Lord Reading of 25th October, 1923, is to be properly appreciated, the earlier history of the subject must be borne in mind. It may not make very pleasant reading in the twentieth century, but facts are facts. The story really starts with the battle of Kurdla in 1795, when the confederated Maratha Princes, thanks to the French-trained battalions of De Boigne, overthrew the Nizam's similarly trained but numerically inferior forces under another French officer named Raimond. It starts at that point because the Nizam was then left without any military defence whatever, and military arguments formed the basis on which the Berar Trust was formed.

Four years later the power of Tippu Sultan was annihilated at Seringapatam, and the East India Company began to make preparations for its impending contest with the Maratha Powers. Among those preparations the first was to revive the military power of the Nizam, and this time on a British instead of a foreign foundation. A Treaty was concluded in the year 1800, by which a force of 1,000 horse and 8,000 infantry was to be raised, trained and officered under British direction for the defence of Hyderabad, and for its maintenance the Nizam surrendered to the British the territory assigned to him under the partition treaty that followed the overthrow of the Hyder Ali dynasty. This first corps was known as the Subsidiary Force, and the Treaty of 1800 provided that it was to be employed only against a foreign foe. It was a protection against the Marathas, but it could not be employed against rebellious subjects, or for the collection of revenue, and after the second Maratha War the Nizam had more need of the latter services from a body of troops than of the former.

A new, strictly Hyderabad, force had to be created for general purposes, and it was to be paid for out of the Nizam's own resources. At the same time the control of this force, which eventually became known as the Nizam's Contingent, was in the hands of the British Resident, and the payment was entrusted to a Calcutta firm of merchant bankers, William Palmer & Co., who were allowed to charge the usurious interest of 24 per cent for their advances. This went on for fifteen years, but, in 1820, the scandal was too much for the conscience of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the connection between the Palmers and the Nizam's Government was summarily ended, with the consequence that the Calcutta firm failed a few years later. It was assumed that the Nizam's debt to the Palmers amounted to 160 lakhs, but all the transactions with the Palmers were suspect, and Sir Charles stated, with regard to one item of sixty lakhs included in the total, he did not believe there had been any loan at all. This consolidated loan was taken over by the British Government and, in return, the Nizam surrendered the tribute of seven lakhs per annum paid him by that Government on account of the Northern Circars.

The Nizam was clear of the Palmers, and their menacing and ever-growing claims, but on the other hand his revenue was seven lakhs less than it had been, and he had still to meet the cost of the Contingent. Nominally the Nizam's force, the Contingent was under the Resident alone. He had the patronage, and all the Nizam's Ministers had to do was to provide the money regularly once a month, and the money was not less than three lakhs for that period, or a total of thirty-six lakhs for each year, and the rupee in those days was worth its full two shillings. There is nothing surprising in the fact that under such conditions the monthly payments would have fallen into arrear but for the reckless complaisance of the Minister, who sacrificed the interests of his Prince in order to keep on terms of goodwill with the Resident. Had he been a wise man, or an honest servant, he would have avoided the serious complications of the future by declaring that the cost of the Contingent must be cut down, serious reforms undertaken, and the whole system

of patronage and up-keep revised. But the Minister, a Hindoo named Chandoo Lall, looked more to the Residency than the Palace, and the total cost of the Contingent gradually rose from thirty-six to forty lakhs per annum, and eventually the sum demanded by the British Government for the maintenance of the Contingent swelled to fifty lakhs or half a million sterling.

For twenty years Chandoo Lall met the monthly demand by having recourse to the sowkars, and they in their turn claimed high interest, and when repayment was not forthcoming they exacted the assignment of revenue-yielding districts—and so the burden grew until it attained crushing proportions. Chandoo Lall having come to the end of his expedients was removed, and after that the situation became aggravated. Payments became irregular, arrears figured permanently in the schedule, and in 1851, eight years after Chandoo Lall's retirement, the debt to the British Government on account of these arrears was represented to have risen to seventy lakhs. It was proposed that certain districts in the Berars, and also in the Raichore Doab, should be assigned to the British Government for the liquidation of this debt and the future maintenance of the Contingent. So repugnant was the idea of the surrender of any territory to the Nizam of the day that he made a tremendous effort to wipe off the debt by drawing on his personal resources. As a matter of fact he succeeded in providing over thirty-five lakhs, or more than half the debt, but this effort did not stay the course of things.

By the end of 1852 the floating debt had risen to fifty lakhs and such was the embarrassment of the Hyderabad Government that there was no positive assurance as to how the cost of the Contingent could be regularly provided for. The Governor-General of the day was the Marquis of Dalhousie, and, at the beginning of the year 1853, he sent General John Low to Hyderabad with the draft of a Treaty which the Nizam was to be compelled to sign. The first intention was that the Nizam should surrender *in perpetuity* the Berar provinces, as the equivalent of the cancelling of the debt and of the future maintenance of the Contingent.

To this demand the Nizam absolutely refused to consent, declaring that if he were to lose so much he would prefer to lose all.

The terms were then modified. The assignment instead of being made perpetual was altered to one of temporary effect. Even then the Nizam could not bring himself to consent to so serious an encroachment on his sovereign powers, and negotiations continued during several months. At last he yielded to an ultimatum threatening "the movement of troops," and the Treaty of May, 1853 was signed.

What did that Treaty stipulate? It was declared that the purposes for which the assignment was made were threefold, viz, the maintenance of the Contingent, the liquidation of the debt stated to be forty-eight lakhs, and the cost of the administration. On the other side the British Government bound itself to pay to the Nizam whatever surplus there might be and to furnish annual accounts. Now it was quite clear that the amount of the surplus would mainly depend on what "the cost of the administration" might prove to be, and the Treaty threw no light on the subject. The cost was left entirely to the judgment of the British Government, and if the establishment were over-officered or over-paid it necessarily followed that there would be no surplus at all to hand over to the legitimate sovereign. Although the Treaty contained no specific mention of the cost of the administration or as to how it was to be measured or controlled, Colonel Davidson, who was First Assistant during the Treaty negotiations, and who subsequently filled the post of Resident with great distinction, stated that "there was a distinct understanding that the cost of the administration should not exceed two annas in the rupee," or, in other words, one-eighth of the revenue.

Before passing on the deliberate opinion expressed by this distinguished officer in 1860, when he was in a position of greater freedom and independence, on the transactions of 1853, in which he had to take a subordinate part, as to their justice or rather injustice, must be recorded.

"I have always been of opinion that had the pecuniary demands of the two Governments (the British and the

Nizam's) been impartially dealt with, we had no just claim against the Nizam for the debt of forty-eight lakhs. His Highness's Minister, in a note dated 19th August, 1851, when pressed on account of the arrears of pay of the Contingent, asked for the surplus of the Abkaree (excise) revenues of Secunderabad and Jaulnah, which at a later date were allowed to be a portion of the legitimate revenue of the Hyderabad State. We carried those revenues, amounting at present to one lakh annually to our own credit from 1812 to 1853, say for forty-one years. They would have given the Nizam a credit of forty-one lakhs, without interest, against the debt we claimed. Further we charged His Highness from January, 1849, to May, 1853, with interest at 6 per cent on advances for the pay of the Contingent, which charge for interest amounted to ten and a half lakhs, although the Nizam earnestly protested against being made to pay any interest at all."

To resume : at the time of the Treaty of 1853 the cost of the Contingent was forty lakhs, but one of the first steps of the British Government on taking over control was to cut it down to twenty-four lakhs. If that salutary reform had been introduced when payments first began to fall into arrear, the Nizam would never have been reduced to the piteous state of having to sign a harsh and humiliating Treaty. The immediate effect of this reduction in the military expenditure was that the revenue and charges more than balanced on the credit side, and a total surplus of thirty-five lakhs for the first seven years was transferable to the Nizam's Exchequer, but it never reached that department for the Accountant-General put in demands for certain overlooked arrear charges of an identic total ! The whole business was suspect, and the more closely the details were examined the more evident would be the conclusion that the Nizam did not receive fair play.

Then came the Mutiny during which the loyalty of the Nizam was conspicuous, and, it may be added, the military services of the Contingent of admitted value in the field. It was agreed that the Nizam had deserved a signal mark of gratitude. It took the form of the cancelling of the debt

and the restoration of the Raichore Doab, and the new Treaty of 1860 left the Berar districts alone in the "temporary" possession of the British Government for the support of the Contingent. The new Treaty sanctioned one change. By that of 1853 "annual accounts were to be rendered"—this had been treated as a dead letter—by that of 1860, this obligation was cancelled, and the new arrangement became a Trust.

Unfortunately the manner of the British administration of this Trust was not of a character to enhance its reputation. In 1861 when the new régime began it was estimated that the revenue of the Berars would produce forty lakhs. This was assigned to the following purposes, twenty-four lakhs for the Contingent, nine lakhs for the administration, one lakh for public works and a surplus of five lakhs for the Nizam. The administration, although raising the ratio to four annas in the rupee instead of two, was not considered very excessive under all the circumstances, but for reasons that were never explained the surpluses were not handed over during the first six years, and then only in a very partial and intermittent fashion. It was not until 1874-75 that an annual surplus was regularly handed over to the Nizam but at the same time there was a very large sum (at one moment not less than half a million sterling) kept back on deposit against contingencies for which no interest was allowed.

During this period the revenue had steadily increased. The forty lakhs of 1861 had risen to seventy-three lakhs in 1870, and to one-hundred in 1895, but the surplus for the Nizam did not increase in proportion. An official return showed that in the forty years from 1860 to 1900 the surplus paid to the Nizam averaged less than nine lakhs per annum, but from 1892 to 1897 the average was only seven lakhs, and in 1898 the surplus was nothing at all. This was too much for Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State, who called for an explanation. Even the official return was misleading for it placed to the credit side the fifty lakhs retained as a reserve and never seen by the Nizam.

The explanation of the discrepancy between the increased

revenue and the surplus for the Nizam lies in the increased charges of the administration. In 1853 they were not to exceed one-eighth of the revenue, and in 1860 at the time of the later negotiations the British Government proposed that if they should, it would defray the difference; but the Nizam too generously interposed to this effect that he "did not desire the British Government to be bound too closely." It was then that a formal engagement was made to the effect that "the cost of administration must not exceed 25 per cent or four annas in the rupee." Very quickly it rose to that proportion, but what was far worse was that it subsequently increased in the most mysterious manner to 50 per cent. No explanation was ever offered as to how a proportion which was never to exceed 25 per cent came to be doubled.

During these years also the expenditure on the Contingent, which was the original and only cause of the pledging of the Berars, had risen from twenty-four lakhs to forty-one lakhs, and on those figures with a revenue of 100 lakhs (one crore) there would still have been a surplus for the Nizam of nine lakhs. But the proportion of 50 per cent while it was proclaimed as the guiding principle was not observed. The expenditure on administration and public works in reality totalled anything from 54 to 56 per cent, and with it disappeared the prospect of any reasonable surplus for the Nizam. If the controllers of any Trust responsible to a Court of Law were to have acted in this manner there could not be two opinions as to what would be said of them. Are Governments immune from judgment and, if deserved, censure?

There was one incident in these years that calls for mention. In 1876 the great Sir Salar Jung while acting as Co-Regent for the Nizam, who was then a minor, paid a visit to London. There was no secret about the object of his mission; he came in the hope of recovering the Berars for his youthful sovereign, and he based that hope not only on the fundamental justice of his case, and his readiness to provide for the financial obligations in the maintenance of the Contingent, but also on the personal consideration to

which he held himself to be entitled and to which, moreover, he knew no one would deny his title. No one would have denied then that the British Raj owed more to the loyalty and sagacity of Salar Jung in the ordeal of the Mutiny than to any single man in the highest authority and position throughout India. He was prepared to provide the immense sum of eight millions sterling as a permanent fund for the maintenance of the Contingent in return for the restoration of the Berars to the Nizam. It was no secret that the necessary financial arrangements had been made to give effect to his promise if the proposal were accepted.

The offer was so good in itself, and his own claims to consideration were so high and valid, that the Regent was very hopeful of its acceptance. In fact, he did not see how it could be refused. The British Government, fully appreciating the situation, also felt itself in something of a quandary as to making a definite and positive refusal. But the resources of diplomacy are unlimited. Lord Salisbury evaded absolute rejection by representing that, with due propriety, the request for the return of the Berars ought to come from the Nizam in person, and not through a Regent, and that it was consequently necessary to adjourn the question until the young Prince came of age. Whatever chagrin and disappointment Sir Salar Jung may have felt inwardly he was too accomplished a courtier and too thorough a gentleman to display any impatience or resentment. He concurred in Lord Salisbury's view of the matter and returned to India. Before the Nizam reached his majority Sir Salar Jung's earthly career had come to an end.

The worst features of the administration of the Trust were not revealed till after the death of that great statesman. During his life the Nizam's Government did receive some payments annually, however variable, and the revenue had not shown the abnormal increase of later years which provided the means for official extravagance. It almost seemed that it was realized that, after his disappearance, there was no one left at Hyderabad with sufficient courage and character to uphold the Nizam's rights. For fifteen

years the Berar question slumbered and the voice of criticism was stilled. The Nizam of the time was of a singularly amiable character, averse to controversy, and more disposed to submit to wrong than to resent it, and the Ministers took their cue from their Prince. By Treaty he had the right to demand the return of the Berars ; it is probable that any International Court would have upheld the contention that the Contingent itself was obsolete, and the circumstances of the time no longer justified its continuance. To all this the Nizam would not listen, but he was concerned and moved to perceive that from the extraordinary prosperity of the Berars he, their Sovereign, was the only person not to benefit. That touched his pride and his pocket. The surpluses dwindled, it almost seemed, at one moment, as if they might disappear altogether.

Although the Nizam never showed the smallest inclination to re-open the Berar question, or to avail himself of the right which Lord Salisbury by implication had in his first mood seemed to admit that he possessed, he did lean towards the views of those of his Ministers who contended that the cost of administering the Berars was too great, and that, as the Nizam was the chief or rather the only sufferer of that excess, he had the right to protest against it and to demand that the administration should be conducted on a lower scale. In the last three years of the nineteenth century the Hyderabad Government was revealing considerable restiveness under treatment which was not merely unjust but almost tyrannical.

It is pertinent to the subject to explain briefly the fundamental causes of the excessive cost of the Berar administration. The area of the province is only 17,700 square miles, and its population was (in 1894) 2,890,000, yet it had, prior to 1900, an establishment almost equal to that of the whole Madras Presidency. This huge establishment was said to be composed of a civil and military staff, attached to the Resident, a Commissioner, a Judicial representative of the High Court, Heads of numerous departments, etc. The small territory was divided into six districts, each having a collector with fifteen assistants, and twenty extra assistants

attached for the service. Besides this bureaucratic staff were the establishments of the Police, the Forestry branch, Engineers, Education, Sanitation, etc. The result was that the cost of administering the Berars was more than twice the rate in the least backward British province. That lavishness was only possible by mulcting the Nizam of his due share.

When the palliators of official action were at a loss to find an excuse for action which had only to be described to be denounced as unfair and tyrannical, they hit upon this expedient. They declared that the Nizam himself was to blame for it. Going back to 1860, the year of the second Treaty, they represented that it was then proposed to attach the Berars to the Central Provinces, and to convert them with Nagpore into a Lieut-Governorship, which would, no doubt, have resulted in a material reduction on the separate charges of Berar as a separate circle. There may have been some particle of truth in this assertion, but if the scheme had been put in practice, how would it have been possible to preserve the distinct sovereignty of the Nizam over his portion? The Nizam very naturally refused to comply, because the proposal was merely a colourable device to convert a "temporary assignment" for a special purpose into a permanent irrecoverable cession. Is it to be supposed that the tenacity with which the Nizam—nay all the Nizams—clung to their sovereign rights, while displaying a yielding tendency in regard to their material claims, led to the retaliation of magnifying the cost of administration until it grew to be fourfold?

The obvious unfairness of the declining surplus under an immensely higher revenue, the fear that unless some protest were made, and some steps taken, it would disappear altogether from the Hyderabad budget, did inspire some old friends of the State with the desire and intention to make the facts known to the public, and thus to bring about a revision of the extravagant system which was contrary to the agreement and a violation of the most elementary principles of justice. That was the moment when Lord George Hamilton called for an explanation.

Unfortunately the Hyderabad administration of that day was not composed of strong men, and divided counsels and interests prevented unity of action. The character and habits of the Prince were not of a kind to support vigorous action, and there was no Minister of the ability and reputation of Salar Jung to set on foot and sustain a movement that with so strong a case could surely not have failed. But enough was done to reveal that the actual state of things could not be prolonged, and that it might be very disagreeable, and even disastrous, if the World should be let into the secret as to how the Berar Trust originated, how it had been carried out, and with what little regard for justice and fair play the rights of the lawful owner had been ignored, diminished and set at naught.

Lest it might be thought that some of the statements made in this Chapter are exaggerated, I reproduce the summary of an indictment which was published in the *Pioneer* in the year 1897. It read as follows—

"We first of all insisted upon the Nizam ceding (assigning) territory on account of a debt which was afterwards proved to have *never* existed.

"2. We promised that the administration of this territory should not cost more than four annas in the rupee (25 per cent) and that we should annually give him the surplus.

"3. Relying upon this promise the Nizam left us a free hand in the Treaty as regards the cost of administration and waived the right of asking for accounts.

"4. Taking advantage of this position we have increased the cost of civil administration alone to 43½ per cent, spent about 13½ per cent in addition on public works and other items, which should be included in the civil administration, and have increased the cost of the Contingent by nearly 40 per cent.

"5. In order to provide for what we call a working balance we retain an accumulated surplus far beyond the amount required for which we pay the Nizam no interest, and which very nearly represents the amount of the discredited debt for which he was compelled to resign the Province.

"6. When we cancelled the discredited debt in 1860, instead of handing over the surplus which had accrued during our seven years' management we kept it for five years, and then alleging that there were two unadjusted balances which together made up the exact amount of the surplus, we accredited it to those heads, a proceeding which most certainly requires explanation.

"7. That the expenditure goes on increasing annually by leaps and bounds without apparently any check whatever."

A settlement of the question was suggested at that time on grounds that would have left the assignment of the Berars undisturbed, but at the same time provided the Nizam from the surpluses with a capital sum for arrears and an annual contribution on which he could count in the Budget of his State. As a reassessment of land in the Berars was to be carried into effect in 1897 it was assumed that the revenue would be increased to 116 lakhs, a moderate computation, and it was proposed to assign this sum in the following quotas. The Contingent could be maintained for thirty-five lakhs, and the whole of the Civil administration including public works was allotted fifty lakhs. This would leave a surplus of thirty-one lakhs for transfer to the Nizam. In addition it was proposed that of the accumulated surpluses, then amounting to thirty-eight lakhs, thirty should be at once handed over to the Nizam, and only eight retained as a working balance for contingencies which were regarded as more imaginary than real. There is reason to believe that these propositions were received with sentiments of dismay in British official circles in India, and that the occupants of soft places were filled with consternation at the prospect that "the milch cow" of the Berars was drying up. The arrangement proposed was one entirely of a transactional character, giving the legitimate sovereign his due share in the resources of a part of his dominions, but it did not touch the fundamental elements of the case, or take notice of the political ethics that were at issue. It would have been beneficial to the Nizam's resources, but it would not have done justice to his lawful rights.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGREEMENT OF 1902

IN June, 1877, after his return from England Sir Salar Jung in conjunction with his co-regent presented a memorial to the Government of India praying for the restoration to the Nizam of the administration of the assigned districts of Berar. This incident marked an important stage in the development of the question on account of the dispatch, dated 28th March, 1878, which it drew from the Marquess of Salisbury then Secretary of State for India. This dispatch is of historical importance on account of the following statements which are laid down with a tone of infallibility as if they could not be challenged before any earthly tribunal. I take them in their order in the dispatch, and where I deem it necessary I make a comment.

"It is superfluous at this time to inquire into the grounds and motives which actuated those who concluded the Treaty of 1853. The fact that it was signed and that its provisions are binding on those who signed it is the material fact with which H.M.'s. Government on the one side, and H.H.'s. Government on the other side, have to deal."

The only comment necessary is to note with agreement the admission that the Treaty was equally binding on both parties. What was the cause and object of the Treaty? Leaving out all details, it was for the specific object of defraying the cost of the Hyderabad contingent, and as the "assignment" was defined to be "temporary" it was made perfectly clear that the possibility of the contingent becoming no longer necessary or desirable was taken into contemplation whereupon "the assignment" would necessarily lapse with its cause. There was nothing whatever to sustain the view that the revenue of the Berars could be assigned to any other object.

The several paragraphs devoted to the discussion of the inter-dependence of officials of all ranks in the British

system of administration are of no relevance and outside the question at issue.

I come now to a more material passage. "It is manifest that the treaty does not convey any absolute cession of Berar. Lord Dalhousie appears to have desired such an arrangement, but the Nizam entertained insuperable objections to it and no attempt was made to force it on him. If the cession had been absolute the entire sovereignty would have passed to the British Crown. No transfer of sovereignty in fact took place, but the territory remained among the dominions of the Nizam as it had been before the Treaty was signed. The Nizam retained unimpaired all the personal dignity which the sovereignty had previously conferred upon him, and the net revenue of the province after all charges of administration have been defrayed has ever since been made (*sic*. discretion forbade the word 'paid') into his Treasury. All that he parted with was the actual conduct of the administration. So far the limited nature of the assignment is clearly borne out by the language of the Treaties, and has always been scrupulously recognized in practice by H.M.'s Government."

There is nothing in Lord Salisbury's exposition to demur to. It might well form the starting point of any discussion before the Hague Court or the League of Nations.

The third passage is more open to challenge. It reads—

"But when the Ministers attempt to extend this important limitation in the scope of the assignment by adding to it a limitation in time as well, they are inserting into the Treaty a stipulation of which its actual text does not bear the slightest trace. There is no word in it indicating any term after the expiration of which the assignment is to cease, or vesting in one of the signatories the power of terminating it at will. If any intention had been entertained of fixing a limit to the duration of the British administration or of making its continuance to depend on the will of the Nizam, words to that effect would have been inserted. The entire absence of any such words is, in the judgment of H.M.'s Government, decisive of this controversy."

Lord Salisbury was far too skilful a casuist to give any

part of his case away, yet it would be insulting his intelligence to suppose for a moment that he was not fully aware that the word "temporary" carried with it a limitation in point of time. True it was not fixed as a precise period, but it must be quite evident to all impartial persons, that it depended upon and related to the object for which the assignment was made, the payment of the Force known as the Hyderabad Contingent.

One final quotation may be made from this important document.

"If on His Highness undertaking the Government, he should desire to bring the whole of the Treaty arrangements between the two Governments under general revision, the British Government will take His Highness' request into consideration."

The importance of this passage is obvious. It admits the right of the Nizam to make a request for the general revision of the Treaty arrangements, and there is nothing to suggest that this right is any weaker in 1924 than it was in 1878.

This right was never claimed, and the Nizam Mahbub Ali seemed content to leave things undisturbed, but, as has been shown, the financial side of the question became pressing with the decline in the surpluses. It was galling to the Prince to find that from the richest province in his nominal dominions he was to receive so little and that with uncertainty, while there loomed in the background the darker prospect of his not receiving anything at all. But the position of the Ministers was worse, constantly embarrassed with the difficulty of balancing the budget, and now threatened with the loss of what they might well have thought they could count on as at least one sure source of revenue. From the point of view of the Durbar rather than the Palace the great need of the hour was that the surplus from the Berars should be larger in amount and more assured in receipt. That was the moment when Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State, wrote on 11th May, 1899, to the Viceroy—

"I cannot regard this state of things (the fall in the

surplus) as satisfactory, and I commend the matter to the serious consideration of Your Excellency's Government with a view to the adoption of such measures of economy as may be found practicable in order to establish the financial position of Berar on a basis which should provide an adequate surplus of revenue over expenditure for payment to the Nizam."

It thus became clear that what was regarded as a just grievance on the part of the Nizam at the India Office, and through it in the Cabinet, related exclusively to the inadequacy of the surplus which the Viceroy was exhorted to do everything in his power to increase. But it was not realized at the moment that Lord George Hamilton's friendly and just interposition narrowed the whole problem to a single point, of which the Government of India very promptly took advantage in the way of argument. What it said in reply was in effect to admit the inadequacy of the surplus and to add that if its views about changes in the administration were not accepted the surplus would disappear altogether.

The position was summed up in the following dispatch from the Resident at Hyderabad which may be regarded as the official defence—

"While it is desirable in the interests of both parties that a complete revision should take place of the conditions under which Berar is at present administered, and the Hyderabad Contingent maintained, it is even more desirable in the interests of the Nizam and is certainly the wish of the British Government that His Highness should receive from those portions of his territory which have hitherto been assigned a more regular and assured income than that which under the Treaties it has hitherto been found possible to pay over to him. The terms of the Treaties in this respect have in no way been departed from, nor has any complaint been received from His Highness as to the nature or amount of the surpluses which from time to time he has received. The treaties themselves for the reasons already named have, however, been fatal to real economy of administration, and as a consequence to the payment of large surpluses. The

largest surplus that has ever been paid over to H.H. the Nizam in any single year since 1860 was Rs. 19,73,000 in 1887-88. In several years owing to famine or other causes there has been no surplus at all. The average of the surpluses transferred to Hyderabad during the forty years between 1860 and 1900 amounted to only a fraction under nine lakhs per annum. More recently all chance of a surplus payment to the Nizam for many years to come has been seriously affected, if not altogether destroyed, by the contraction of certain loans, for the repayment of which (capital and interest) the Berar surplus, when there is a surplus, has been made the chief security, viz. (1) the loan of two crores from the Government of India to the Hyderabad State in 1900; and (2) the famine loans amounting to 141 lakhs, which have been made by the Government of India to Berar. The interest upon the former or Hyderabad loan is fixed at 4 per cent, and it is to be repaid partly by annual payments of three lakhs by the Nizam, but in the main by annual instalments of fifteen lakhs towards principal and interest from the Berar surplus. The interest upon the second or Berar loans is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and they are to be repaid by an annual instalment of five lakhs a year from the Berar surplus, spread over twenty-eight years. Should there be no surplus in any year or years the repayment of these loans will be proportionately postponed. In any case it is clear that while Berar has for forty years been a source of only fluctuating and precarious revenue to the Hyderabad State there is no chance under existing conditions of any change being effected in this condition of affairs for many years to come, and that even if such economies are introduced by the Government of India as have been shown by the recent inquiry to be possible, it will not be His Highness the Nizam but the Government of India who will profit by the saving in the greater rapidity with which their loans will be repaid."

The point of the official argument was the revival of the proposal of 1860 that the administration of the Berars should be merged in that of the adjacent British province, and that only in that way could any reduction in the cost

of administration be brought about. In plain terms the Nizam was told that if he did not accede to the suggestion he might dismiss all hope of ever seeing any surplus at all. The promise that the cost of the administration should not exceed 25 per cent of the revenue, the voluntary offer that if it did exceed that proportion the British Government itself would defray the difference, seemed to have passed out of memory, or it would scarcely have occurred to any responsible official to assert that there was no other way to reduce the cost of the administration than by inducing the Nizam to accede to the proposal which his predecessor had rejected forty years earlier because it would have signified, as he thought, the disappearance of his sovereignty. The financial situation had been further compromised and complicated by the famine loan of 1900, which was to be discharged by an annual draft of five lakhs abstracted from the Nizam's surpluses, thus rendering the likelihood of any receipts at Hyderabad more shadowy and remote than before. But famine charges are a necessary part of the expenditure on administration and public works, therefore it seems as if the five lakhs for interest and sinking fund should more properly have come under those heads which represented 60 per cent of the revenue, than from the Nizam's miserable surplus which averaged nine lakhs spread over a long period, and sometimes fell to zero in a single year.

In April, 1902, Lord Curzon accepted an invitation from the Nizam to visit him at Hyderabad. Negotiations on the subject of the Berars had commenced in the last few months of the year 1901, but the papers relating to them have not been published (*see* Command Paper 1321 of Yr. 1902) and the documents are confined to those subsequent to the Viceroy's visit. In a dispatch dated 13th November, 1902, Lord Curzon defined the objects of his visit, and the results of the negotiations that preceded and followed it, as follows—

"In the course of time these arrangements (under the Treaties of 1853 and 1860) have become both inconvenient and obsolete, while they have on occasions given rise to controversies . . . Upon the side of the Government of

India the flaws in the existing system were mainly associated with the civil and military administration of the province which under the arrangements stereotyped by the Treaties was imperfect and wasteful. Upon the side of H.H. the Nizam the desirability of a change arose in the main from the precarious and fluctuating character of the surpluses, which, also under the stipulations of the Treaties, were payable to him, and the irregular nature of which introduced a regrettable element of uncertainty into the finances of the State. It was realized on both sides that the events of the past half century, during which the assigned districts of Berar have remained continuously under British administration constituted a prescription, from which it was neither possible nor desirable to depart, and the efforts of both parties in the recent negotiations were accordingly directed to the discovery of a solution that should possess the combined merits of removing the administrative anomalies of which we have spoken, of securing to H.H. the Nizam an assured income from this portion of his territories, and of guaranteeing to the population of Berar, which now amounts to over two and three-quarter million persons, a continuance of the conditions and standards under which they have attained to a high measure of prosperity."

One does not wish to be hypercritical, but this plausible statement only reveals some part of the truth. It takes no account of the extravagant system of administration which was associated with the British management from 1860 onwards and which eventuated in the financial quagmire from which the Nizam could not extract a rupee. Everyone who had followed the course of events knew what was coming. It was believed that the Nizam must succumb to the financial pressure brought to bear upon him. The argument that unless you subscribe to our views you will get nothing was held to be irresistible, and so it proved. In 1853 the lever was the threatened movement of troops, in 1902 it was the denial of all surpluses.

The settlement, it was stated officially, was the result of informal and private communications that had for some time been proceeding between His Excellency and His Highness.

There was no official record of these communications which had been largely conducted by word of mouth, and this is equally unfortunate for both sides, as verbal communications are always liable to miscomprehension and contradiction. There are numerous instances in history of two honourable negotiators forming an exactly opposite view of the sense and conclusions of their mutual conversations. That is why the carefully prepared and agreed upon Protocols of a Treaty are not less important than the text of the Treaty in interpreting it. In the case under notice the consequence of this laxness in procedure is that this agreement of management for the Berars does not possess the weight of a treaty, while it leaves the door open to opposing versions as to how it was brought to pass. Treaties without protocols are an amateurish essay ; many of the so-called Anglo-Indian Treaties partake of that character. There was, of course, the argument of superior force, but this it may be assumed has been obsolete ever since the Crown took the place of the Company.

The Treaty of 1853 was the sequel of a rejected demand for absolute cession ; the Treaty of 1860 was accompanied by a proposal, also rejected, for the Berar districts to be merged in a British Province, and the Agreement of 1902 was based on a " perpetual lease " of those districts to the British Government, and it would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer, as the phrase goes, to distinguish between a " perpetual lease " and an " absolute cession." The tenacity of the British policy in attaining its ends after fifty years' striving is not undeserving of admiration, but will it be deemed quite so meritorious when it is seen that it has been gained at the expense of a friend ?

Let us now see exactly what the terms of the 1902 arrangement were. The first and most important article reads—

" H.H. the Nizam, whose sovereignty over the assigned districts is re-affirmed, leases them to the British Government in perpetuity in consideration of the payment to him by the British Government of a fixed and perpetual rent of twenty-five lakhs of rupees per annum."

The second and concluding article reads—

“The British Government while retaining the full and exclusive jurisdiction and authority in the assigned districts, which they enjoy under the Treaties of 1853 and 1860, shall be at liberty notwithstanding anything to the contrary in those Treaties to administer the assigned districts in such manner as they may deem desirable and also to re-distribute, reduce, re-organize and control the forces now composing the Hyderabad Contingent as they may think fit, due provision being made as stipulated by Article 3 of the Treaty of 1853 for the protection of His Highness’ Dominions.”

This Agreement of two Articles did something more than convey a perpetual lease, it left the British Government free to deal with the Hyderabad Contingent as it chose. But the Hyderabad Contingent was the sole cause and justification of the Assignment. If reduced or abolished, to that extent ought the terms of the Assignment to have been relieved or removed in favour of the Sovereign owner? All the cost of the administration was ancillary to the cardinal point of the original assignment. The Agreement re-affirms the Nizam’s sovereignty, but in all the discussions leading up to it that sovereignty is ignored and set aside.

On the face of it the quit rent of twenty-five lakhs looks generous enough, but an impartial investigator of the position in 1898, referred to in the previous chapter, had estimated that the Nizam might look for a surplus of thirty lakhs whereas he was at that moment receiving only six or seven. The generosity is somewhat obscured too when we come to examine the mode and manner of the payments. It was first stipulated that out of the twenty-five lakhs, ten lakhs were to be taken on account of the Berar Loans, and eight and a half lakhs for the Hyderabad Loan, leaving the sum of six and a half lakhs only for the Nizam. It was computed that after the twentieth year the Nizam’s share would, by the reduction of the Loans, be increased to sixteen and a half lakhs, and that after a further interval unspecified the full sum of twenty-five lakhs would be received. These terms were subsequently modified at the

Nizam's request to a payment to himself of ten lakhs instead of six and a half, and an equivalent diminution in the sums assigned for the service of the Loans. It was then computed that on this basis the full twenty-five lakhs would accrue in thirty years, a date which has not yet arrived.

To complete the account of the financial arrangements made it is necessary to add that the cash balances amounting to forty lakhs, already referred to, were brought into account for the credit of the Nizam, and employed for the reduction of the Berar Famine Loans totalling at that moment about 140 lakhs.

In their dispatch of 13th November, 1902, to the Secretary of State the Government of India declared—

“Our proposals have been conceived in no grudging or illiberal spirit. It is true that in consequence of the financial embarrassments in which the State has lately been plunged, owing in the main to famine in both Hyderabad and Berar, and which have compelled recourse to be made in both cases to the Government of India for loans, the full annual rent will not for some time be realized by His Highness. But the arrangements that have been agreed upon for the discharge of these liabilities are such as will relieve the Hyderabad State at the earliest possible moment from its burdens; while we have further accelerated this consummation by handing over to the Nizam for the still more rapid liquidation of the loans a sum equivalent to the entire working balance of forty-one lakhs which stood to the credit of the Berar administration on 1st October of the present year. We do not regard the request of the Nizam for a concession of this point as one with which we were at all bound either in logic or equity to comply. But in our anxiety to meet the courteous and conciliatory attitude of His Highness in a similar spirit and to effect a liberal settlement of all possible claims we were glad to give a favourable answer to his representation.”

Finally the Secretary of State, in his dispatch of 12th December, 1902, conveying his sanction of the terms of the Agreement, wrote—

“The main objects which Your Excellency has had in

view in the conduct of these negotiations are recited in the instrument that concluded them. It is desired that His Highness should receive a fixed instead of a fluctuating and uncertain income from the assigned districts and that the Government of India should be enabled to improve the economy and efficiency of the British Administration in the Hyderabad assigned districts and to revise existing arrangements connected with the maintenance of the Hyderabad Contingent.

“The former of these objects was brought to the notice of your Government in my dispatch, dated 11th May, 1899, in which I reviewed the Administrative Report of the assigned districts for 1897-98, and commended to the serious consideration of Your Excellency in Council the adoption of such retrenchments as might be practicable in order to establish the financial position of Berar on such a basis as would provide an adequate surplus of revenue over expenditure for payment to the Nizam. I am aware that His Highness has recently found himself under the necessity of taking liberal measures for the relief of the distress caused by famine in his territories ; and that the strain that has thus been placed upon his resources, which have required the financial aid of your Government, must have added to the importance of considering any arrangements that may strengthen and secure the general revenues of the Hyderabad State.”

The dispatch makes it perfectly clear that the Secretary of State, when he commended in May, 1899, to the Viceroy the necessity and obligation of providing the Nizam with “an adequate surplus,” only envisaged the situation in its financial aspect, and that the revision of “the existing arrangements connected with the maintenance of the Hyderabad Contingent” was an addition made by the Government in India as a mode of satisfying Whitehall and attaining its own long dormant but never abandoned ends. From the point of view of seizing a favourable occasion to bring pressure to bear on a distressed prince, to wrest from him an unpalatable and detestable concession, none could have been more opportune than that of which the Viceroy

took advantage in the spring of 1902. The Nizam's resources were at a low ebb, the loans extracted for famine relief, half of which lay outside the territory administered by his own Government, imposed on him a heavy and complicated responsibility, and the revenue on which he had the right to count from Berar was effectively cut off. At such a moment not only of need, but of harassing uncertainty lest worse might not befall, the Government of India presented its proposals to the ruler whose situation had aroused the sympathy and anxiety of the Secretary of State in Whitehall. We cannot deny the astuteness of the diplomatic move, and if employed against an enemy it might have been justified on the plea that "all is fair in war." But in this case the protagonist was a friend, the oldest and staunchest friend of the English in India, Britain's most ancient ally!

That is why the arrangement of November, 1902, speciously attractive on the pecuniary side, as it might well appear to an embarrassed Prince seeking relief from his immediate financial difficulties, cannot be accepted as a just and honourable settlement of a question that had presented itself in many forms during half a century. It is obvious to the dullest intelligence that the Nizam of the day was cajoled or coerced into becoming a party to an arrangement that all his predecessors had repudiated. To have achieved a triumph, to have attained an end, in such a way does not comport with the dignity and high reputation of British rule in India, and on the maintenance of which its permanence depends. To snatch or sneak an advantage by such means from a friend calls for unqualified condemnation and censure.

It will be said, no doubt, by those who uphold the arrangement that in no other form could financial relief have been extended to the Nizam and that his rejection of the terms would have signified his being left empty-handed. Moreover there was the heavy responsibility of the loans, from which the serious contingency of default could not be eliminated. The Government of India held the whip hand, but was it just to make use of it? Its vindicators will declare again that there was no other course.

But this was to exclude all other proposals. There was for instance, the original offer of Sir Salar Jung to redeem the assigned districts with a fund of eight millions, more than sufficient to provide for the Hyderabad Contingent—the sole cause, I repeat, for the assignment—and to clear off the loans; but, of course, the return of the Berar districts to their lawful sovereign was implied, and that was the rub. The final conclusion seems unavoidable that the arrangement of November, 1902, was devised not to aid and relieve the Nizam in his troubles, but to secure in a disguised form the permanent possession of the Berar districts which had been so long coveted. It was the last effort of that autocratic system which has now disappeared for ever from the annals of British rule at least in India.

CHAPTER XII

THE RESTORATION OF THE BERARS

I HOPE that the statements made in the two preceding chapters will have been of some use to the reader in preparing his mind for the careful consideration of the demand of H.E.H. the Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan for the restoration of the Berars. This request was contained in a letter dated 25th October, 1923, written personally to the Earl of Reading and subsequently published in the Press at the end of January, 1924. The text of this letter forms the substance of this chapter, and I am not so presumptuous as to attempt to add anything to the exposition of the case as furnished in the moving narration of my Prince and Master.

But before the citation I would refer to one incident which bears upon the subject and which came under my own observation. The letter of His Highness was written on 25th October. A month later Lord Reading came to Hyderabad as the honoured guest of the Nizam. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the Viceroy of the time had not taken umbrage at the Nizam's communication, and it may be assumed that he did not find anything unreasonable or reprehensible in the request for the restoration of his districts in Berar despite the formal agreement of management concluded in 1902. In the old autocratic days, to which reference has been made, things, no doubt, would have been different, and Hyderabad would have been notified that the Viceroy's visit was not to take place. But the times have changed and Lord Reading is not built that way.

His intercourse with His Highness was marked by great cordiality, his demeanour towards all of us, who were brought into even remote contact with him personally, was gracious and friendly, and when he departed he left behind him the best impressions of his sincerity as a man and of his high attainments and character as a distinguished statesman. We can only hope that his visit to Hyderabad

still occupies a small corner in his memory reserved for pleasant things.

There is one passage in the Viceroy's remarkable speech at the State Banquet given in his honour by H.E.H. the Nizam, on 23rd November, 1923, that I feel obliged to quote because it seems to answer by anticipation the cheap sneers that have been cast at the Hyderabad Administration with the view of insinuating that the people of Berar would suffer greatly if they were to pass from British to their own Sovereign's rule. This is what Lord Reading said—

" You have spoken of the common interest and common ideals which unite the ruler of this State to the British Government as their faithful Ally. I value Your Exalted Highness's words, for your wide responsibilities as a ruler of more than twelve million people, and the traditions of your State of association with the British in the past in the preservation of peace in the Deccan, and its support of the British Empire in the recent Great War, give Your Exalted Highness a just perception of both the magnitude and difficulties of my task as Viceroy and Governor-General."

Every word in that passage is complimentary and eulogistic. Would Lord Reading have employed them if he had thought that the Nizam and his Government were not equal to the task of meeting their " wide responsibilities " ? But the speech contained a much more specific statement. It ran—

" I felicitate Your Exalted Highness on the expansion of the machinery of your Executive Government which I trust will conduce, as you anticipate, to the efficient working of the administration and continue to deserve the confidence both of Your Exalted Highness, and of your subjects. I have heard with great interest of the activities of the Government of Your Exalted Highness in many directions calculated to benefit your State and to enhance the well-being of your subjects. The progress in irrigation works and in railway development which are calculated to bring increased revenue to the State, while improving the lot of its cultivators must be a source of special gratification to Your Exalted Highness. In no direction has expansion

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been so remarkable as in the case of education. I hope that the rapid increase of education facilities in your State will find its reward in the quickening of mind and character in the rising generation, for in the development of the general line of intelligence among the people, the hopes of future progress in the State are bound up. All who study Indian educational problems will watch with interest the scheme inaugurated by Your Exalted Highness in the Osmania University for teaching up to the highest standard through the medium of Urdu. We are also much interested in the Hospital scheme which is nearing completion after an expenditure of nearly nineteen lakhs. It is greatly to the credit of the administration that so many works and projects of the highest importance have been successfully brought to fruition in a period of financial depression and that in spite of bad seasons the soundness of the financial position has nevertheless been maintained."

This voluntary tribute by the Viceroy effectually disposes of the detractors of Lord Winterton and other ill-informed critics, who would try to make people believe that the old days of Chandoo Lall, Mr. Henry Russell and the Palmers were still with us and to throw doubt on the assertion that Hyderabad is now in the van of Indian progress.

The following is the full text of the Nizam's letter to the Earl of Reading—

HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

25th October, 1923.

MY DEAR LORD READING,

You are aware that the Province of Berar, an integral part of my Dominions, came to be leased in perpetuity to the British Government by an Agreement dated the 5th November, 1902, on certain terms and conditions. This was the outcome of an interview that took place at Hyderabad between Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, and my late lamented father, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, on the 30th of March of that year.

After my accession to the Throne of my forefathers, in 1911, I had the circumstances under which this Agreement

came to be executed carefully examined. Were it not that the Great European War broke out in 1914 I should long ago have asked for the reconsideration of the Agreement. But as an Ally of the British Government, I felt it my duty to throw the energies of my State into the struggle, and to refrain from raising this political question at a time when the Empire found itself in the throes of a life and death conflict with a formidable enemy. I intended, however, to take action on the conclusion of the war, but the political ferment and unrest in British India became so acute, that, from 1919 to almost the closing months of 1922, I had again to wait, in order to save possible embarrassment to the Government of India. Happily, the victorious British Empire is now fast recovering from the effects of the war; and Your Excellency's rule has succeeded in restoring a calm political atmosphere in British India. In the circumstances, I feel no hesitation now in addressing this letter to you, in full confidence that the claims of the Faithful Ally of the British Government will receive at the hands of the Viceroy of India and His Majesty's Government the sympathetic consideration called for by the justice of the case and the relations of the parties.

How the possession of the Berars passed from my ancestors to the British Government is shown in the written Claim, which I annex hereto in the form of a Memorandum, containing a full historical survey of the relevant facts, treaties, and other documents. Your Excellency will see that, even as early as the year 1766, the districts on the East of my Dominions, known as the Northern Circars, were ceded in perpetuity to the British Government by one of my ancestors, in exchange for the right to aid from British troops for the preservation of internal tranquillity. The engagement to furnish substantial military aid was further guaranteed by Lord Cornwallis, in 1789, the East India Company undertaking that the military force was to be granted "whenever your Highness will apply for it," without any restriction except that it was "not to be employed against any Power in alliance with the Company."

In 1798, the military aid was increased to a Subsidiary

Force of 6,000 Sepoys, with a proportionate number of field pieces, stationed in the Hyderabad Dominions for service of the Nizam, in whose pay they were declared to be from the day of their crossing his frontiers. As regards the preservation of internal tranquillity, the Fifth Article of the Treaty provided—

“The said Subsidiary Force will be at all times ready to execute services of importance, such as the protection of the person of His Highness, his heirs and successors, from race to race, *and overawing and chastising all rebels or excitors of disturbances in the Dominions of this State*; but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions, nor, like Sebundy, to be stationed in the country to collect the revenues thereof.”

The then Nizam engaged to pay an annual subsidy of Rs. 24,17,100 for the maintenance of this Subsidiary Force.

Then came the Treaty of 1800, whereby the districts of Bellary and Cuddapah, valued at Rs. 63,00,000 yearly, were ceded by the Nizam to the British Government, in commutation for ever of the annual subsidy of Rs. 24,17,100. The Subsidiary Force became thenceforward answerable for the defence of the Hyderabad State against assaults on its tranquillity of whatever description—external and internal—and was to do all that was required to coerce any “subjects or dependants of the Nizam” who should either “excite rebellion or disturbance” or “withhold payment of the Circar’s just claims upon them” without any reference to the magnitude or otherwise of the occasion.

As a result of the Treaties of 1798 and 1800 both framed by the Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis of Wellesley), the Nizam had, on the one hand, to cede in perpetuity Bellary and Cuddapah and disband his Corps under Raymond and other French officers, and the British Government, on the other, gave the pledge, by Article 17 of the Treaty of 1800, that—

“If in future the Shorapore or Gudwall Zemindars, or any other subjects or dependants of His Highness’s Government should withhold the payment of the Circar’s just claim upon them, or excite rebellion or disturbance, the Subsidiary Force, or such proportion thereof as may be requisite,

after the reality of the offence had been duly ascertained, shall be ready, in concert with His Highness's own troops, to reduce all such offenders to obedience."

Your Excellency will observe that these arrangements left no manner of doubt as to the obligations created by these two Treaties being interdependent, and that the right of the Nizam to military aid against internal disturbance and external aggression was placed beyond dispute. But only eleven months later, when the zemindar of Shorapore failed to pay the tribute due to the Nizam, and otherwise conducted himself with great contumacy, the requisition for the services of a part of the Subsidiary Force was not complied with until after a delay of six months, and only after other conditions not provided for by the Treaties had been superadded, greatly impairing the force of the Nizam's authority over his Tributaries.

This denial of the full services of the Subsidiary Force secured by Treaty was followed, in 1804, by insistence on the part of the Governor-General for a provision from the Nizam's own revenues of a separate body of Selladar Horse actually to do the same service, which the Subsidiary Force, under Treaty obligations, was to render, and in consideration for which the districts of Bellary and Cuddapah had been ceded only shortly before. At first the Nizam resisted the proposal as a plain denial of his Treaty rights, and the refusal of the services of the Subsidiary Force to which he was entitled, combined with his helplessness due to other reasons, led to the inauguration of a new Force, called the Hyderabad Contingent, at the Nizam's cost. Contemporaneous records will show that, at its inception, the Contingent was "to save the Subsidiary Force the labour" and was created for the purpose of "reducing to obedience the refractory zemindars"—a duty which is mentioned by name, in the Seventeenth Article of the Treaty of 1800, as incumbent on the Subsidiary Force. The Nizam was thus paying heavily twice over for the services to which he was entitled under the Treaty of 1800. Further, it has to be noted with regret, that though the Contingent had been created with the object of affording to the Nizam military

support for internal purposes and the cost of its maintenance was a serious burden upon his treasury, its services were repeatedly refused when the Nizam's interests demanded their employment.

The Contingent took its birth at a time when the Nizam was permitted no voice in the administration of his country, with the result that this new Force was placed and maintained under British control, and Rupees forty lakhs per annum out of the Nizam's revenues were appropriated for its support. This period in the annals of the Nizams forms a gloomy chapter in the history of India. One disloyal and traitorous Prime Minister succeeded another, and a perusal of the documents relating to the subject will, I am sure, convince Your Excellency that the inauguration of the Contingent was without the free consent of the Nizam, expressed or implied. There is ample British evidence that Chandoo Lall, the most traitorous of Ministers, acceded to the creation of the Contingent for his own personal ends, and that it was he who granted assignments on the revenue of certain districts for the pay of a portion of this new Force. Lord Metcalfe in a Minute dated the 16th March, 1832, described the Contingent Force as "in reality a joint concern between Raja Chandoo Lall and us." Sir F. Currie, a member of Lord Dalhousie's Government, in his Minute of the 2nd April, 1853, also very truly wrote: "The Contingent seems to have been the device of Mr. Russell, the Resident, and Chandoo Lall, the Minister of the day." And he added that no consent appears to have been officially given to the Contingent "by either the Government of India or that of the Nizam."

The whole career of Chandoo Lall as Minister is a record of unconscionable sacrifice of his master's interests, reckless ruination of the finances of the State, and lavish expenditure of its resources on the maintenance of his own personal power. The expenditure on the Contingent was notoriously extravagant, and the entire arrangement was in utter disregard of the heavy drain on the resources of the Nizam. As a Minister, Chandoo Lall was completely subservient to the Resident and the East India Company.

The above circumstances led to the Treaty of 1853, whereby the districts of Berar came to be assigned, subject to specific terms and conditions, to the East India Company as a territorial guarantee for the maintenance of the Contingent. The Force had now existed for fifty years, and forty-three lakhs of Company's rupees were claimed to be due from the Nizam to the Company. But it is important to note that no set-off was allowed, either in respect of the Excise claim in connection with the duties levied on the Nizam's subjects in the City of Secunderabad, or of the savings effected by the British Government in keeping the Subsidiary Force at reduced strength for many years. Indeed, for a period of forty-one years, the Excise revenue of about a lakh a year was unwarrantably credited to the then Government of India. This sequestration, had it been admitted and restored, would have given the Nizam a credit of forty-one lakhs, even without interest charges, thus almost wiping out the arrears claimed on account of the maintenance of the Contingent on a notoriously extravagant basis. So also, over a period of thirty years at least, the strength of the Subsidiary Force was below 75 per cent of the number stipulated by Treaty and for which payment had been made in advance by the assignment of Bellary and Cuddapah in perpetuity.

It follows that there was, at that time, nothing owing from the Nizam to the Government of India on account of the maintenance of the Contingent and the claim of forty-three lakhs of rupees had no substantial basis. Yet it was this claim which forced upon the Nizam the Treaty of 1853. Your Excellency will appreciate the point by reference to the testimony, in 1860, of the Resident, Colonel Davidson, who was an eye-witness of the transaction of 1853. Writing on the 12th October, 1860, he says that the debt "was acknowledged by the Nizam by the Treaty of 1853 under pressure, and which he never considered he justly owed," and, moreover, he added that in his own opinion "had the pecuniary demands been impartially dealt with, we had no just claim on the Nizam for the present debt."

The pressure alluded to by Colonel Davidson was a threat of immediate military occupation. The first proposal was permanent cession of territory. The Nizam refused. The second was a permanent assignment, while the Sovereignty of the territory should nominally remain with the Nizam. He refused this also. For fifty days he was pressed, but would not yield. Then came the third proposal, that the territory should be assigned to the British Government "merely for a time to maintain the Contingent as long as the Nizam should require that Force." There were "objurgations and threats," but for another fifteen days the Nizam remained unshaken. Then came a letter from Major (afterwards Colonel) Davidson, the Assistant Resident, to the Nizam's Minister, the coercive character of which the following quotation will reveal—

"I believe the Resident requires your attendance this evening, to inform you his negotiations with the Nizam are at an end, and he applies to the Governor-General to move troops by to-day's post . . . Indeed I have a letter from my nephew at Poona, mentioning that the 73rd Highlanders and 86th Regiment H.M.'s. troops, have received orders to be in readiness to march on Hyderabad. Don't suppose military operations will be confined to the districts; and if you are a friend of His Highness, beg of him to save himself and his dignity by complying at once with what the Governor-General will most assuredly compel him to accede to."

The day after the receipt of this letter, the Minister wrote to the Resident that the Nizam had at last consented to the Treaty. Comment is needless. It is for Your Excellency to judge whether the consent of the Nizam was voluntary or given under compulsion.

The accompanying Memorandum deals exhaustively with the ultimate basis on which the negotiation for the Treaty of 1853 was accomplished. Colonel (afterwards General Sir John) Low, the then Resident, authoritatively announced to the Nizam that "if His Highness wished it, the districts might be made over merely for a time to maintain the Contingent as long as he might require it." A

cursory study of the records and papers on the subject will, I feel sure, convince Your Excellency that the Nizam intensely disliked even the suggestion of an arrangement in perpetuity, and that he signed the Treaty of 1853 on the clearest understanding that the "transfer of possession was a mere assignment in trust for a particular purpose to last only so long as that purpose might require to be maintained."

The pre-existing and inherent right, however, of the Nizam to disband the Contingent, which was not the subject of any Article in a Treaty, at his will and pleasure, remained unaffected by the Treaty of 1853. There are no less than six different occasions on record, between 1853 and 1860, showing that the Nizam consistently held himself entitled to the restoration of the whole of the assigned districts of the Berars. Then came the Treaty of 1860, which was supplemental, and did not in any way prejudice or narrow down the claims of the Hyderabad State to subsequent and complete restoration which my grandfather, the Nizam Afzal-ud-Dawlah, and my great grandfather had so strongly cherished. On the contrary Article 6 of this Treaty expressly refers to the territory, assigned under the Treaty of 1853, as "held by the British Government *in trust* for the payment of the troops of the Hyderabad Contingent" and other minor charges. This was but the sequel to the action of the Government of India, on the 5th September, 1860, in officially authorizing the Resident to communicate to the Nizam that "the alienation of this part of his Dominions is temporary only and for a special purpose conducive chiefly to the safety of Hyderabad State and to the preservation of tranquillity within its limits," and that "whenever the districts in question are restored to the Nizam, His Highness will derive all the future benefit that may possibly arise from the improvement while under the management of British officers."

From this historical survey, it is clear that, from the circumstances under which the Treaties of 1853 and 1860 came to be concluded, no just inference can be drawn to support the theory that either the Nizam or the Government

of India contemplated or agreed to the extinguishment of his right to disband the Contingent at any future time. Your Excellency, as a jurist and a lawyer of great eminence will, I feel sure, agree with me in the view that my forefathers, up to the reign of Nizam Afzal-ud-Dawlah, did not consent to any arrangement which might throw the slightest doubt upon their right to exercise their discretion as to the redemption and the restoration of the Berars to their House, whenever all the dues were satisfied and the need for the maintenance of the Contingent, in their judgment, ceased to exist.

My grandfather, the Nizam Afzal-ud-Dawlah died in 1869, and was succeeded by my father, the Nizam Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, who, at the time of his accession, was an infant only three years of age. On account of the Ruler's infancy, Sir Salar Jung became the Regent with the Amir-i-Kabir as co-Regent. In the year 1872, the Regent Ministers proposed to the Government of India that a capital sum, sufficient to secure the payment for the maintenance of the Contingent Force on the footing of the purposes declared in the Treaty of 1853, be accepted from the Hyderabad State, and the assigned districts be restored to the administration and government of the Nizam. The proposal was declined, among other grounds, on that of "inconvenience of discussing questions of this kind, while the Nizam, in whose behalf they are professedly raised, is himself a minor."

Full powers of Government came into the hands of my father in the year 1884 when he attained the age of eighteen years. In 1902, Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy, raised the question of the Berars on his own initiative. The more I examine the transactions which followed, the more convinced I am of their invalidity. My father abhorred the suggestion of an assignment in perpetuity no less intensely than his forefathers. The overtures of the Government of India, in the form of proposals, were made to my father by Colonel (afterwards Sir David) Barr, the then Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, about the end of January, 1902. Within eight weeks came the historic visit of Lord Curzon

to Hyderabad, culminating in the lease in perpetuity of the Berar districts to the British Government.

The accompanying Memorandum will show how much my father disliked the suggestion of perpetuity of lease ; how steadily he resisted the overtures of the Resident ; and how emphatically the Council of his principal Noblemen, especially convened for the purpose of considering the matter, opposed the proposition. Indeed, the Council drafted a letter to be addressed by the Nizam to the Viceroy, and advised His Highness to present it personally to Lord Curzon at the private interview that was to take place at the Residency on His Excellency's arrival in Hyderabad. To me that letter is pathetic, not only from its contents, but because the interview took so unexpected a turn as to disable my father from delivering it into the hands of the Viceroy. The letter, dated the 30th March, 1902, ran as follows—

“ YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I do not wish to enter into the old controversy as to my right to the restoration of Berar, or as to the meaning or object of the treaties and other formal engagements concerning it. I confidently leave these matters for Your Excellency's kind and favourable consideration. I would only appeal to His Majesty, the King Emperor, through you to restore Berar as a special mark of gracious favour and I ask to be allowed to make your Lordship my advocate in the cause. I feel perfectly sure, and I most devoutly trust, my appeal will not be in vain on the auspicious occasion of His Majesty's Coronation.

I remain,

Your Excellency's sincere friend.”

From the full account of the interview in the accompanying Memorandum, it is abundantly clear that the Viceroy gave the Nizam no encouragement to hope that His Excellency would advocate His Highness's cause before the King Emperor. Although the Resident, Colonel Barr, accompanied the Viceroy, my father unfortunately had not the advantage of the presence of his Chief Minister or any

other high official of the State to assist him in discussing this most important question. The notes of the Viceroy and the Nizam, separately recording what passed at this interview, are given in juxtaposition in the Memorandum to show the frame of mind of both.

Lord Curzon's note shows that before His Excellency entered upon the question of the Berars, he raised two extraneous issues in the presentation of which he disclosed the assertive side of his authority as Viceroy. One was the question of the confirmation of Maharajah Kishen Pershad, the new Minister in his office. It was my father's wish to confirm the Minister, but His Highness was reminded that this was subject to His Excellency's sanction. The other question related to the designation and powers of a lent officer of the Government of India as Financial Adviser to the Hyderabad Government. In presenting his views in this connection, His Excellency went to the length of saying that if his suggestions were not given effect to, he would recall that offer, and the Viceroy further marked his insistence by declaring the confirmation of the new Minister to be dependent upon the acceptance of His Excellency's proposals regarding the lent officer.

I cannot but regard it as an unfortunate circumstance that my father, who was known to be of a shy and nervous disposition, was unaccompanied into the Audience Room. The preliminaries that were discussed before the question of the Berars was reached were disconcerting.

The view of Treaty obligations pressed on my father is evident from the following quotations from the Viceroy's own note—

"I pointed out (to the Nizam) that the British Government had no reason to be dissatisfied with the position and rights at present assured to them by Treaty; there was no flaw in their title to the assigned districts, there was no limit fixed either to the period of assignment or to the administrative powers which were thereby conferred.

"The Hyderabad Contingent as at present constituted and placed under the Treaties was a wasteful and unsatisfactory arrangement. The troops stationed in Hyderabad

territory seemed to be in excess of modern requirements and their retention of the title appeared to be both invidious to His Highness and out of date.

"And that the present assignment in perpetuity of Berar should be replaced by a lease in perpetuity.

"I had felt greatly disappointed when I heard that terms so apparently favourable had not met with His Highness's approval. If they were refused, the Government of India must revert to the present position which contained no time limit, and under which we had enjoyed the substance of what was desired at a much less financial cost for fifty years.

"There was, however, an additional reason for which I should regret the failure of the present proposals. If they were rejected, it was in the highest degree unlikely that any succeeding Viceroy would open the question again or that any British Government would court a fresh rebuff.

"His Highness should realize, therefore, that the opportunity of a settlement now offered could not be expected to recur, and that the present arrangements would tend to become stereotyped into a perpetual form.

"But he (the Nizam) desired to know whether, under the new arrangement, he would be at liberty to ask at any future time for the restoration to him of Berar. I replied that if the Province of Berar were leased to the British Government in perpetuity, it would not be open to His Highness to make any such request, since the destiny of the Province would already have been determined by the lease.

"His Highness then asked whether, under present conditions, there was any chance of Berar being restored to him. I said there was nothing in the Treaties that contemplated or gave Hyderabad any claim to restoration. I referred His Highness in reply to the answer that had been returned to Sir Salar Jung when the matter was last raised twenty-five years ago, and to the statements of the British Government made by Lord Salisbury in 1878. The events of the past fifty years had further created a presumption in favour of the present situation, which it was impossible to ignore. In these matters there was continuity of policy

between successive administrations whether they were Conservative or Liberal, and I could hold out no hope to His Highness that any Government in the future would be prepared to offer him terms in which no previous Government had ever acquiesced, particularly if the present attempt to settle the matter on independent lines had broken down. The British Government would have no alternative but to adhere to the perpetual assignment already provided for by the Treaties.

"His Highness then said that, as he understood there was no chance of Berar being restored to him, if the present arrangements were refused, he had no hesitation in accepting the proposed lease in perpetuity, as being in every way greatly to the interest of the State. He had only so far refused it because he had not realized that there was no probability of Berar being restored to him in the future."

In order to enable Your Excellency to judge of the impression the unequal debate left on my father's mind, I desire to quote here a short passage from the Nizam's note relating to this momentous interview—

"The Viceroy told me twice and thrice (repeatedly) that Berar could never be restored. His Excellency said: I do not wish to keep Your Highness in any false hope. I say it very plainly that this alone will be the policy of not only myself but of every Viceroy who will come after me: and the policy of the Government in England will be the same, viz. that Berar should not be restored at any time. From the Viceroy's talk it appears that, as there was no application for the return of Berar during (the last) twenty-five years, it was impossible (for us) to get it back, and that we should not entertain any hope whatever of its restoration. His Excellency explained that no benefit would accrue to me if the present state of affairs continued. It was unwise to maintain the present conditions when it was impossible to regain Berar. It would be better to lease out and take money (rent) year after year.

"However, I tried as much as I could to insist (on the restoration), but the tenour of the Viceroy's answers convinced me that they would never give us Berar. It was in

consequence of the mistakes made in the past that we had now to wash our hands of the Province. I was then obliged to say : ' If such is the case, take it on lease.'

" The way in which the Viceroy conversed with me yesterday fully convinced me that, if I refused to lease saying that the present conditions might continue, His Excellency would not listen to me or would give but evasive answers if he listened, and that if I pressed him to give a definite reply to my request he would say plainly, as he has already said before, that my application (for restoration) could not be entertained."

I cannot help considering the reference to Lord Salisbury's reply to the representation made by Sir Salar Jung, in 1878, as singularly unfortunate. It unquestionably influenced my father, as no doubt, it was intended to do, by creating the impression that the matter was already prejudged. His inference was erroneous, but that this was the result is quite evident from the above extract. Lord Salisbury, in his reply adverted to above, had only pointed out that there was no time limit specified in the Treaty of 1853 for the determination of the assignment of the Berars ; and that, should the Nizam on attaining majority desire to have a general revision of the Treaty arrangements relating to the Province, his wishes would receive consideration at the hands of the British Government. In the above conclusion, there seems to be hardly any warrant for the claim that the Berars were assigned in perpetuity, or that the decision was invested with the character of finality.

The outstanding feature of the interview between Lord Curzon and my father is that, on the high authority of the Viceroy of India, a comparatively powerless Ally was definitely and emphatically given to understand, contrary to past solemn assurances and Treaty obligations, that by no manner of means and under no circumstances would the British Government then, or at any future time, restore the Province of Berar to its legitimate owner. His objections to the permanent alienation of the Berars were overruled on grounds wholly inconsistent with pledges given by the British Government in 1853 and repeated in 1860,

and with the declaration of the Government of India, officially authorizing the Resident, in 1860, to communicate to the then Ruler of Hyderabad that "whenever the districts in question are restored to the Nizam, His Highness will derive all the future benefit that may possibly arise from the improvement while under the management of British officials." His Lordship also overlooked the fact that the assignment of the Berars was "in trust for a particular purpose to last only so long as that purpose might require to be maintained," and entirely ignored the clear and unambiguous language of Article 6 of the Treaty of 1860, which re-affirmed the "trust."

I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise at the following passage, in a letter from the Government of India in the Foreign Department dated the 13th November, 1902, to the Secretary of State for India—

"Upon the side of His Highness the Nizam, the desirability of a change arose in the main from the precarious and fluctuating character of the surpluses which also, under the stipulations of the Treaties, were payable to him, and the irregular nature of which introduced a regrettable element of uncertainty into the finances of the State. It was realized on both sides that the events of the past half century, during which the assigned districts of Berar have remained continuously under British administration, constituted a prescription, from which it was neither possible nor desirable to depart; and the efforts of both parties in the recent negotiations were accordingly directed to the discovery of a solution that should possess the combined merits of removing the administrative anomalies of which we have spoken, of securing to His Highness the Nizam an assured income from this portion of his territories, and of guaranteeing to the population of Berar, which now amounts to over two and three-quarter million persons, a continuance of the conditions and standards under which they have attained to a high measure of prosperity."

In the concluding paragraph of the letter to the Secretary of State, it was stated that "the settlement of this important matter which we have here recorded has been as

heartily and spontaneously accepted by the Nizam, as it was frankly and sincerely put forward by ourselves." This certainly is an overstatement. Whatever impression might have been left on Lord Curzon's mind after the interview, I am constrained to say, with great regret, that the terms presented to my father with such emphasis and persistency by the Viceroy of India and a statesman of commanding personality, were, as his note contemporaneously recorded abundantly shows, neither "spontaneously" nor "heartily" accepted. The course that was adopted in obtaining his assent to a settlement, which had been regarded with such abhorrence by successive Nizams, and had been repeatedly rejected before, divests it of all claim to spontaneity, and deprives the discussion of the character of a free debate. In view of the momentous issue involved, it would have been better, in fairness, to have allowed a little time for deliberation and some opportunity for consultation with his advisers; but none such was given.

Even if my father had willingly agreed to the settlement of 1902, I claim to be entitled to question its validity as beyond his constitutional powers, for he had no authority in the circumstances, to alienate any part of the territories he held in trust for his people and his successors. This proposition has high juristic support. The assignments made by our forefathers for the protection of the Hyderabad State or for the benefit of the dynasty stand on quite another plane.

From Lord Curzon's own Note, it is quite evident that my father never for a moment admitted any "prescription," nor was he a party to any effort "directed to the discovery of a solution." In an issue which involves the good faith of the British Government, the doctrine of prescription is an irrelevancy. Besides, the repeated recognition of the title of the Hyderabad State to the restoration of the Berars, when the necessity for their retention ceased, lifts the question out of the region of technicalities. When the British Government, in 1881, transferred the Mysore State to Indian rule, it proved that "prescription" has no weight in the scales against justice and equity. Mysore had been

in British control for half a century. How entirely that part of India had come to be associated with British administration is obvious from the Parliamentary papers relating to the transfer (C. 3026, Yr. 1881). The restoration of Mysore, effected by the Marquis of Hartington (afterwards Eighth Duke of Devonshire) and the Marquis of Ripon, has gone down in history as one of the wisest acts of statesmanship under British rule in India.

The recent political and administrative changes in British India have materially affected the status of the Province since the lease of 1902. One thing is obvious ; the transaction in question does not warrant the absorption of the leased territories, which still form an integral part of the Hyderabad State, into the political and administrative system of India, and especially to the prejudice of their inhabitants. Not only have the financial resources of the Berars thus been made available to non-Beraris, but by reason of the new reforms, my subjects, in many matters have been placed under the domination of outsiders. To give an instance : owing to their disparity in numbers, they actually occupy, as I am informed, a position of inferiority in the Central Provinces Legislative Council. The situation, therefore, has so completely altered since 1902, that I feel I am within my rights in asking, on every consideration of equity and justice, for a revision of the settlement then concluded.

I am anxious that the people of the Berars should receive into their own hands the shaping of their destinies, and for this reason I am willing to concede to them, on the restoration of the Province, a larger co-operation in the administration than at present enjoyed anywhere in British India. With this end in view, I declare that, should I succeed in the redemption of my Province, I will insert, in the Instrument of Restoration or any other State Paper that may be drawn up, definite clauses for the conferment on the Beraris of a Constitution for a responsible Government with absolute popular control, under a constitutional Governor appointed by me as my Representative, of their internal affairs and complete autonomy in administration,

except in matters relating to the British Government and my Army Department.

The financial arguments, which loomed so large in the negotiations of 1902, need not stand in the way of restoration. The whole question that weighs with me is not one of monetary advantage, but one of right and justice. Regarding a final balance sheet, I ask for no more than an equitable settlement.

The contributions of my forefathers and my own towards the stability of the British Empire are matters of history ; I have not referred to them, as my letter to Your Excellency is not intended to seek any reward for acts of devotion on the part of a Faithful Ally, but to assert my claim and to invoke justice at the hands of His Majesty's Government.

Yours sincerely,

MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

CHAPTER XIII

ANXIETIES, DOUBTS AND TROUBLES

THE period of hopeful optimism with which Lord Reading set out on his mission of applying the later reforms and of giving a good start to the new Constitution was unhappily of short duration. While he was insisting on the need of patience, and calling for the goodwill and co-operation of all the true friends of India within her borders, he found himself confronted with demands that could not be granted and an unreasoning impatience that exceeded all the bounds of practicability and even possibility. In those trying circumstances, all the more exasperating because unexpected, Lord Reading has displayed a tact, consideration for others, and a delicacy of sentiment that deserved our admiration, and will make his period of authority a memorable epoch in Indian history.

On several occasions, as the reader of his speeches will discover, he dwelt on his anxieties and responsibilities, and sometimes in a tone of regret for the easier times and less exacting conditions his predecessors had enjoyed. He more than once gave expression to his relief at finding himself within the limits of one or other of the self-administering States, havens of rest where the agitator and even the clamorous and loud-voiced critic were unknown. But whenever these brief respites ended he had to return to the exacting and unpleasant realities of his task and station. It must seem strange to outsiders that so true a friend of India, and of Indian advancement, should be subjected to so unkind a treatment and such a rude experience. The reflection should be taken to heart by the reasonable and thinking members of the vast Indian communities who are not under the thumb of professional politicians and hireling agitators.

Lord Reading is an idealist. He has said so himself repeatedly. His attitude during the war, his discourses

during his American mission, his appreciation of President Wilson's programme, and his support of the League of Nations had proved it, and in that spirit he came to India. He had cast her horoscope in an optimistic mood, nothing was to impede her progress towards the attainment of a great place in the councils of the world, there was to be no limit to her future. To that end he rejoiced when Mr. Malaviya promised to observe a peace, and for fuller demonstration of his own benevolent intentions he received and discussed the situation with Mr. Gandhi. Well might Lord Reading exclaim these things would not have been deemed possible even twenty years ago. Yet the want of patience has placed all these results in jeopardy, and revived the forces of reaction.

If the date were asked at which optimism began to fail, and a sense of disappointment to chill the ardour of those who were working for the establishment of the new order of things, it would have to be fixed at the time of the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Swarajists, turning aside for the moment from political propaganda, concentrated their efforts on boycotting that visit and thus insulting the Heir of the Sovereign who had granted them, in common with all the peoples of India, the new Constitution that they seemed to be set on wrecking. It was very pitiful to see men of intelligence, so blind in their passions and prejudices, that nothing seemingly would content them but to contribute to the defeat of their own ends.

Lord Reading had taken occasion, when dissatisfaction first became assertive, to recall the fact that the Constitution had emanated from the British Parliament, that it was in force under what might be termed a limit of time and reason, and that under certain circumstances which he would not contemplate it might be modified or even withdrawn. Shortly afterwards the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) speaking in the House of Commons on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had declared that "those changes were in the nature of an experiment. They must be treated as an experiment, a great and important experiment, but still an experiment. It remains to be seen whether a system

adapted to Western needs is quite suitable or not for India Whatever the success of Indians either as Parliamentarians or Administrators I can foresee no period when they could dispense with the guidance and assistance of a small nucleus of British Civil Servants and other British officials in India. The British Civil Servants are the steel frame of the whole structure, and I do not care what you build on, or add to it, if you take that steel frame out the fabric will collapse."

Instead of taking this first warning to heart the Swarajists were speechless with indignation and rage, not speechless truly but vociferous. It lay with Lord Reading to explain its true significance. The Premier's words were to be regarded, he said, as a note of solemn warning to those who, after the next Election, might be inclined to pursue the deliberate policy in the Legislature of paralysing the activities of Government by rendering it impotent, and reducing administration to chaos. This warning is intended for those who may wish not to consolidate but to wreck the Reforms. It indicates not a change in the policy of the British Government but the consequences of mischievous short-sighted and hostile action. It is not to be overlooked that many of those who are proposing to become members of the Legislature threaten to destroy it, but they seem to have overlooked the fact that at the same time they will destroy the reformed Constitution. As a commentary on the Premier's speech nothing could have been more logical or more reasonable. Yet it fell on deaf ears, notwithstanding the grave words that followed—

"I detain you for a moment to point out that in my judgment there is no ground for suggesting that the word 'experiment' denotes a change of policy. I think it requires but a very cursory study of the Reforms, including the Preamble and other parts of the Statute, to realize that the plan adopted was a constitutional experiment. Is it not a perfectly legitimate use of popular language to refer to a new and hitherto untried departure as an experiment? May not every new venture by human beings be properly described as an experiment until it has achieved its object."

If there had been any evidence that the British Government were striving to undo or destroy its own work, then the outcry would have been comprehensible, but the beneficiaries were the wreckers. Moreover the supreme authority of the British Parliament was never placed in doubt. It was to be the judge of the time and manner of any further advance, and its judgment was to depend on the co-operation of the people of India in helping to work out what was generally allowed to be a difficult problem. No agreement can be one-sided. It must be observed by both parties, or it ceases to be binding on either. A wilful disregard of these primordial facts, the fixed purpose on one side to obstruct, disarrange, and nullify the operations of the other, must conclude the business. The experiment becomes an unconcealed failure and the question reverts to its original phase. As Lord Reading justly said: "If we are to secure the progress we all desire we must create the atmosphere in which it can develop. There must be respect for law and order and support for constituted authority and for established Government." In face of these definite statements, of this and other similar appeals for cordial co-operation, obstruction could only be malignant, and the work of men who were no true friends of their country. Often has the question been asked whence comes the irreconcilable venom of the revolutionaries? Is it traceable to Red Russia or some secret society of the Socialist underworld? Certain it is that they have no real regard for the welfare of India or her people. Their poisonous shafts are directed not only against the British Government, but against every settled administration and independent authority in the Peninsula. Happily they are a mere handful. A few brave and resolute men would soon bring them to their senses. It is for the wiser and more virile section of the Indian public to take up the matter in their own interests and to stamp out sedition wherever it may be found. Failing some demonstration of the sort by men of character and substance while there is still time, it may be feared that it will be remembered all too late that the new Constitution was after all only an experiment.

Fresh point and force have been given to these observations by the events of the last two years. Threats of recourse to violence were made, open revolution was talked of, and the practice of non-co-operation developed into a system of hostile voting by a majority deaf to remonstrance or to reason. It was boasted openly that the Government when reduced to a standstill could be brought to its knees, as if any or all Governments did not possess resources and means of making themselves heeded if they chose to resort to them. The futility in the long run of the tactics employed by the extreme Swarajists was so easy to demonstrate that it has been pitiable to see the reckless followers of a few irreconcilables carried into a blind alley. Lord Reading taking note of the threat to resort to violence and to stir up a revolution had stated—

“I will not attach undue importance to these threats, but a vigilant watch will be kept on any such preparations, and I give you my assurance that my Government will make use of all its resources to combat and quell the forces of disorder should they become manifest.”

The agitators had no reason to feel proud of their handiwork in compelling the most friendly Viceroy who ever landed in India, to turn to the other side of his duties which commanded him to maintain law and order lest India should pass from a state of tranquillity and prosperity to one of anarchy and chaos, as was happening before the eyes of all the world in Russia. Even as he warned, Lord Reading also in the same breath painted the happy contrast—

“I will ask you to travel with me for one moment to higher flights of imagination, and looking into the future strive to picture India as she will be. I see her not as an India with representation of different communities, not an India where the Hindu community shall be striving for its own interest only, or the Mahomedan community attempting to obtain some special interest for itself, or the Europeans considering the interests for the moment of their own community, but an India of all communities, of all classes, in which the Hindu, the Mahomedan, the European and every other class race and creed shall join and endeavour to make

India a great India, and to give her a higher place in the future history of the world, when every man will be doing his utmost for the country in which he has been born or his interests are involved, so that all may concentrate their attention upon the one ultimate goal. But however divergent our individual interests may be the national interests must be the same. The interests of all the communities regarding the future of the country should be identical, and will, I trust, become identical. It is looking ahead in India to the obliteration of those distinctions which necessarily rule at the present moment when she shall have worked further along the road to her ultimate destiny, and I trust we shall have harmonious co-operation which must inevitably lift India high in her material prosperity and in her position in the Councils of the Empire and the World."

Of course, this may be idealistic but it should at least make a strong appeal to the heart and understanding of every true lover of his country. Only a revolutionary set on

" Red ruin and the breaking up of Laws "

would scowl upon the fair prospect and set to work to wreck the hopes of wiser and saner men.

The difference between the earlier period of hopefulness and the later stage of doubt and despondency was clearly marked by the contrast between the friendly discussions with Mr. Gandhi, and his arrest and imprisonment for breaches of the law which constituted him a mischief-maker and inciter of sedition. But the arrest of their leader did not for a long time induce the Swarajists to reflect on their own position, or to make a more careful examination of the whole situation. They were reckless, and they proposed to boycott everything, including the Empire Exhibition. They had not realized that it was too late unless they considered it a satisfaction that a considerable sum of Indian money should be lost and thrown away. Lord Reading asked, " Who would be the sufferer from such blind and unreflecting action ? " and he answered his own question " Certainly not England and the Empire, but India or rather those parts of India that insist upon withdrawing." The

boycott of the Exhibition would only irritate opinion in the other Dominions, and shake the faith of those in Britain who were favourable to Indian advancement towards full self-government, always be it remembered within the folds of the British Empire, words which do not seem to have been sufficiently taken to heart in some parts and circles of India.

As the year 1923 approached its close, the situation grew more confused and threatening. Lord Reading became the mark of hostility notwithstanding his unceasing efforts to uphold the rights of India and to champion her cause. It was the Allahabad Municipal Board that brought itself into some notoriety and let us hope derision, privately if not in public, by passing a vote not to take any part in the ceremonies and functions in honour of the Viceroy's visit to that city. One speaker declared that Lord Reading's "cry of justice, equity and fair play for India was mere camouflage." The Chairman, who was not present, wrote a note to the effect that a "public reception to the Viceroy would be a shameful thing," and then added in seeming contradiction he "did not mean or wish a personal discourtesy to the Viceroy," but "he could not shut his eyes to the suffering which his country had endured under Lord Reading's Viceroyalty." It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. J. Nehru, the writer of the note, that what suffering there had been was entirely due to breaches of the ordinary laws of the land, and to having recourse to boycotting and other methods of veiled violence. If illegal acts are not to be checked and punished, then disorder must become rampant and civilized society lapses once more into unqualified barbarism.

One member of the Board, Mr. Harnandan Prasad, did make a courageous protest against the motion, and reminded his colleagues that they were neglecting their proper duties, in charge of a municipality, to take up the discussion of political matters which did not concern them and lay outside their province. His speech deserves quotation as an expression on the part of a reasonable man whose example may encourage others to speak out. He said "This Board

has been converted into a political gathering, and members are forgetting their legitimate business which is to look after the welfare of the city. This Board is not a place to carry on political propaganda but a place where they should seek for and devise means and methods to carry on the work entrusted to them. The party who were responsible for getting on the Board by specious promises of reducing the taxes and better management of the affairs of the Board, were signally failing in their duties in wasting their time over what Lord Reading had or had not done, with which, as a member of the Board, he was not concerned. They had promised a millennium to the people of Allahabad, but some things that they were doing, if disclosed, would not reflect any credit on them. Their action would be construed in an adverse light and would have a bad effect on their endeavours to convert Allahabad into a real capital."

The personal attacks on Lord Reading were not very general, but they started a fashion of abusing English politicians all round. This indulgence in personalities, however reprehensible and futile, was at least comprehensible in the case of those who were regarded as opponents of the Reforms, but it became outrageous when resorted to at the expense of men who were doing their best to support the views of those who were their critics. Viscount Peel had succeeded Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State, and without aspersing the knowledge and intelligence of any one it may be stated as a fact that his views and personality were not known or appreciated in India. In some mysterious way the view was circulated that Lord Peel was not merely autocratic but ill-disposed towards India. The truth was the opposite of both charges. A less autocratic and more considerate gentleman than the new Secretary of State could not be imagined, and as for his sentiments towards India they were shown to be the exact-opposite of the allegation by his acts and words.

Expression was given to this mistaken prejudice in an address presented to Lord Reading by the National Home Rule League during a visit to Madras at the end of last

year. Lord Reading in his reply took occasion to administer a dignified and merited rebuke—

“ You make special reference to the Secretary of State. I do not understand your description of his position as autocratic, for he is a Minister of His Majesty’s Government responsible to the British Parliament. As regards Lord Peel personally, I wish to express my obligations to him for his unremitting efforts thoroughly to understand and weigh carefully Indian opinion in all questions, and for his unvarying desire to further the best interests of India in every way. The many occasions on which India has had cause for gratitude to Lord Peel are, perhaps, better known to me than to the public at large. In particular I draw attention to the goodwill and sympathy to India manifested by Lord Peel in his address to the Imperial Conference. His advocacy contributed most notably to the creation of the favourable atmosphere during the Kenya discussions, and paved the way for a cordial reception of the observations of the Indian delegates, H.H. the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. India is deeply indebted to the two latter for their convincing presentation of her case in the Conference, and in addition to his powerful exposition of India’s claims in the formal discussions, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru deserves the highest commendation for his patient and untiring efforts in informal interviews and conversations with the representatives of the Dominions and Colonies on India’s behalf.”

I come now to the Kenya question, the most thorny subject and difficult problem that has stirred Indian sentiment in recent years apart from the Turkish Treaty. As the latter matter related principally to the Moslem community, so did the former mainly affect and interest the Hindu. To the latter race and religion belong in the main the immigrants into East Africa, who to a large extent represent the small shop-keeping class. In that pursuit their small needs, the habits of thrift and their solidarity have made them very successful, and they must prove formidable competitors to any rivals in the same category. Success, moreover, brings successors and imitators in its train, and the formation of

a large Indian community within the continent of Africa seemed and seems more than likely. It must also not be overlooked in considering the question that the relations between British and Indians is further complicated in this region by the inevitable inclusion of the African races and tribes who are the original inhabitants or denizens of the country. The British and the Africans have been in contact for some centuries. To the Africans the Indians are new comers, and it is far from certain that they will approximate to or understand one another. Yet in the final solution of the problem it is the views of the Africans that must prevail.

Before proceeding to describe the growth of the question it is necessary to register the fact that the problem is primarily a Colonial matter rather than a British, and that as third or even fourth parties (to wit European colonists and native Africans) are concerned the reasoning and procedure that apply to regular Indian questions have no force in regard to this. The Viceroy and his colleague, the Secretary of State, can fight for the rights of Indians as a matter of principle, but they cannot exclude or over-ride the opinions and veto of other parties who have distinct and clear rights of their own. All they can hope to achieve is to contribute towards bringing all the parties into a state of common accord, and that inevitably implies some form of compromise.

In May, 1922, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri set out on a visit by invitation to the Great Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The significance of this event lay in the fact that India, with old relations with Britain, was about to contract new relations with these fellow Dominions in the British Commonwealth, which may some day or other in the evolution of the world constitute the paramount partner. On the eve of his departure Mr. Srinivasa Sastri received the following memorable message from Viscount Peel, the Secretary of State—

“Before you depart for Australia, New Zealand and Canada, at the invitation of the Governments of those Dominions as a representative of the Government of India, I wish to take the opportunity of expressing my sense of the

high importance of your mission for India and the Empire. The eloquence and cogency of your appeals were largely instrumental in the success achieved by representatives of India at the Premiers' Conference last year, which placed on record a resolution recognizing the rights of citizenship of Indians, lawfully domiciled in other parts of the Empire. The ready acceptance of that resolution by the Prime Ministers of the Great Dominions which you will visit is a signal proof of the new status of equal partnership won by India, through her efforts and sacrifices during the War, in the Councils of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

In so far as a principle had to be vindicated and established Mr. Sastri's mission was a complete success, for no one was so bold or unjust as to challenge the claims of India to "the status of equal partnership," but the application of the principle was a more delicate and difficult matter. Happily the application of the principle did not press for the moment in any of the Dominions named. It was otherwise in Kenya, as it had been in Natal. Kenya was not a Dominion or subject to one. It was part of a Crown Colony subject to the direct authority of the Colonial Office in London. No Legislatures had to be invoked, and it seemed as if a short and simple order from Whitehall were all that was necessary to concede to Indians their demands and wishes. But if on the side of principle the issue seemed simple and assured, there was on the material side a considerable obstacle in the fact that a large and growing Indian settlement was installed within Kenya, and that they already outnumbered the European element and threatened to do so in an overwhelming degree very shortly. In the great Dominions no controversy was in progress, while in Kenya agitation was rife and propaganda actively carried on.

A mass meeting of Indians held at Nairobi in March, 1923, demanded "complete equality of status," and sent delegations on the subject to England and to Bombay. They also claimed the franchise, and refused to accept segregation, limitation of immigration and exclusion from the Highlands, which were to be regarded as an European

reserve under the proposals of the Colonial Office. If, in the strict meaning of language, "equality of status" implies everything, it is also evident that the realization of its full benefits and advantages must be dependent on local considerations, and from them prejudice cannot be eliminated.

Lord Reading, taking up the position of sound principle and abstract justice, was the champion of the full rights of Indians to equality within the Empire. Speaking at Simla on 21st July, 1923, when the decision in London was not known, although the announcement was imminent, he said—

"I appreciate your reasons for wishing to place your opinions before me in order that I may communicate them to H.M.'s. Government before they reach the final stage in their consideration of the Kenya problem. I acknowledge your desire not to place me and my Government in a more difficult position than is inevitable in the present conditions. At this moment I do not know whether H.M.'s. Government has reached a decision. My Government has quite lately been consulted upon certain points, and has made representations in reply to the Secretary of State. I wish I were able to give you some indication of the probable conclusions of H.M.'s. Government, but that is impossible.

"I can only say to you that the Imperial Government is fully conscious of the importance to Imperial interests of the issues raised. We have been aware of the state of public opinion from the first, and have made communications to H.M.'s. Government. We have realized that it is not merely conditions in Kenya that were at issue, but that in certain aspects of the problem raised Kenya has come to be regarded in India as the test of the sincerity of the British advocacy and acceptance of the principle of equality of treatment of Indians with citizens from other parts of the Empire, the principle formally recorded in a Resolution at the Imperial Conference of 1921, and of such far-reaching importance that it bound H.M.'s. Government as also those Dominions which subscribed to it.

"You will realize that the solution of the Kenya problem is not so easy as at first sight appears to those who regard

it from one side only. I am sure that you have understood some of the difficulties which have presented themselves to H.M.'s Government. Difficulties frequently occur in the application of accepted principles to concrete facts. I do not believe for one moment that H.M.'s Government with whom the decision rests will fail to act upon the principle accepted in 1921. They are charged with the responsibility of administering the Colony. They have a paramount duty to its African inhabitants who are by far the largest community. Equally they are under an obligation with due regard to their position as trustees for the African to protect the interests of other communities. H.M.'s Government have never failed to recognize that they must act with justice to all communities including Indians and Europeans. The opinion seems to be gradually evolved and publicly expressed that in the present condition of the African population it would be unwise to make further advance at present towards responsible self-government. If this should be His Majesty's decision, and as a result Kenya would remain a Crown Colony, I think this conclusion should be cordially welcomed by India.

"There is one other aspect of this problem which is of momentous Imperial interest. Proposals have been advanced with great persistence and ability for a law which would in effect shut out Indians from immigration into Kenya. I find it difficult to believe that H.M.'s Government would be a party to such discrimination in a Crown Colony. I refuse to accept the notion that H.M.'s Government would agree to a proposal which, it appears to me, would run wholly contrary to the general policy of the Imperial Government.

"At one period after Lord Peel had become Secretary of State we thought a decision had been arrived at which involved some compromise but which was acceptable to us as a Government. It is not open to me to discuss its details with you at the moment. Unfortunately the compromise never became effective, but this certainly was not due to any failure or omission of the India Office for every effort has been made on behalf of it by Lord Winterton, acting

under the instructions of Lord Peel. You may rely upon your representations being communicated forthwith to H.M.'s Government, where I trust and indeed I am confident that they will receive that consideration which is due to representations made by members of the Council of State in so serious a subject."

Three days later there was published in London the Decision of Government with regard to Kenya. This proved to be a retraction of some of the concessions proposed in the Wood-Winterton Report of 1922. The Decision contained some good features. Segregation and racial distinction as against Indians were abolished. The reservation of the Highlands for Europeans was maintained, and it was considered that the setting aside of an area in the Lowlands to be reserved for experimental agricultural farms under Indian direction was not an adequate equivalent. The result of the franchise would, it was declared, give the Indians only five seats in the Council, as against eleven for the Europeans, although they were twice their number. At that time there were 9,650 Europeans, 22,822 Indians and 10,107 Arabs in the Colony, while there were not less than two and a half million Africans. But the vitiating point of the Decision in the eyes of the Indians was that it did not declare without qualification or limitation their status to be one of full and absolute equality. That principle already established and recognized, once endorsed by the British Government, it might well have become possible to arrive at a suitable compromise with regard to some of the details, and even to retard the enforcement of the more difficult arrangements. But an arbitrary decision assigning a place of inferiority to the Indians inevitably raised a storm of protest, and the general disappointment was all the keener because this related to a Crown Colony where there was no local legislature to obstruct or humour.

Lord Reading did not conceal his surprise and disappointment when news of the substance of the decision reached India, and his comments were very emphatic. He declared in a public statement on 29th July that "The news of the decision came to me and my Government, no less than to

you, as a great and severe disappointment, for India has made the cause of the Indians in Kenya her own. His Majesty's Government have announced their decision and the Government of India must consider it and arrive at its conclusions. If submission must be made, then with all due respect to H.M.'s. Government it must be made under protest."

At a first reading this statement seemed to look like a challenge to the Home authorities, but the reference to the inevitable "submission" should have removed the impression. Evidence that it was interpreted in an extreme sense was not long in forthcoming. In the House of Lords a question was asked as to what the Government thought of the Viceroy's defiance, and Lord Peel in an official statement, made after the exchange of telegraphic messages with Lord Reading, undertook to explain the true predicament. Lord Reading had never intended, he affirmed, to declare "that it was open to the Government of India to consider whether or not they would submit to the decision of His Majesty's Government. The Viceroy has made it perfectly clear that there was no idea on his part or on the part of his colleagues to challenge the decision communicated to them by His Majesty's Government."

The same moderation and restraint were not displayed by Mr. Shastri and Sir Tej Saprú, who happened to be in England at the time acting as delegates for their fellow countrymen. Their indignation was very great and their language full of menace. They declared that India would not consider the decision as final, which as an expression of opinion was quite legitimate, but when followed by threats to stir up an agitation in India, coupled with the intention to resort to the boycott of British goods and the wrecking of British measures, they were not merely advocating extreme steps, scarcely to be distinguished from incitement to revolution, but they were adopting the most effective way to prevent, or at least retard, a reconsideration of the decision relating to Kenya at some future and more favourable moment.

The Government of India, more wisely advised, issued on

18th August, what was called a "considered statement." It did not deny that the decision contained concessions, although they were less in its opinion than those contained in the Wood-Winterton Report of 1922. It would have been glad if the decision had contained a clearer admission of the principle of equal status, and if this had been shown more especially in regard to the exercise of the franchise, and the opening of the Highlands to non-Europeans. But of any thought of defying, or of coming into open collision with the British Parliament there is not a trace. Lord Reading would be the last man in the world to charge windmills or to walk over the edge of a precipice with his eyes open. His sympathy with the point of view of the Indians remained undiminished, but, as he had declared repeatedly in regard to this and other questions, the final decision, and with it the responsibility of course, rested with the British Parliament which is and must remain supreme. Still the Kenya controversy will long prove, it must be feared, a disturbing element in the internal position of India.

CHAPTER XIV

WHITHER ARE WE GOING ?

THE life and progress of a country are marked by something more than its political activities. Its commercial, and industrial enterprise and output, the respect for religion, the maintenance of justice, and the spread of education, are factors far more essential to its prosperity and happiness than the possession of a large body of politicians, who are keen on promoting controversy as the best mode of advertising themselves. Lord Reading has furnished many proofs that he has not been blind to this side of Indian life, and his speeches contain many passages on all these subjects which reveal the acuteness of his understanding and his breadth of vision. When he arrived in India the trade depression was very marked, the reaction from the War fever was at its lowest ebb, confidence was shaken, exchange was bad, and discontent was general. Lord Reading came to preach the gospel of Hope, and in many respects his wishes and anticipations have been realized.

Almost one of the first questions to which Lord Reading gave his attention was the proposal to protect Indian industry by a Tariff. As far as was known he was as thorough a Free Trader as any other member of the old Liberal Party, but he sanctioned the formation of a Commission to consider and report upon the subject as it bore upon India. His openness of mind was reflected in the admission that the question "should not be decided by pre-conceived views regarding the relative advantages of Free Trade and Protection, but by consideration of the relative advantages and disadvantages to India of a change in her fiscal policy." The report of the Commission being in favour of the adoption of a protective tariff, he expressed the opinion that "an investigation should be made into any particular industry for the purpose of considering whether it would be wise in the interests of the country generally to impose a tariff with regard to that industry for the purpose of

protection." He also declared that India was a free agent in the question ; " there may be some matters that will have to be discussed with the Home Government," but the matter " must ultimately rest upon those at the head of the Government here." The first of these considerations and views was eventually seen in the protective tariff accorded to Indian steel, and on the results of that experiment both to the special industry and to the general revenue, the whole future of Protection, so far as India is concerned, will depend.

At Patna he dilated upon the mineral resources of the new province of Bihar and Orissa, while not forgetting that there, as generally throughout India, agriculture must be the staple industry and the general source of prosperity. In Southern India he spoke of the remarkable revival of tea, in Bengal of the recovery of jute, and called attention generally to the satisfactory feature that the balance of trade was again in favour of India, from which signs it seemed safe to augur that India was likely to recover from the after-effects of the war sooner than other countries.

One of the great needs of India for her own prosperity, as well as for the benefit of the world and especially of Britain, is to produce more, and especially of wheat and cotton which are the essentials among raw materials. Now it so happens that the great Province of the Punjab is favoured above all others in respect to these products, and with its fertilizing rivers supplemented by canal extensions there are practically no limits to its capabilities. The work done by the Punjab Irrigation Engineers has been magnificent. The Lower Chenab Valley has been rendered one of the richest tracts in the Province. The Lyallpur district, formerly a desert, sustains a population of one million, and there is no doubt that Sirhind, once the canal and the irrigation system are completed, will not fail to show equally satisfactory and conclusive results. It is unnecessary to labour the point that increased production of its natural products and the development of the latent resources of India must bring increased comfort and content for the individual, and at the same time larger returns not merely to the State Treasury but also to the Railways.

Absolute tolerance in matters of religion has always been the first article of faith in British policy in India, and it was not likely that it would suffer any deflection or decline in Lord Reading's hands. It would be strange, indeed, if he, the member of a persecuted religion and one limited in numbers, were to resort to any form of persecution such as was insinuated in some quarters at the time of the Akali agitation. The restriction of the religious liberties and rites of any creed or sect by any Viceroy appointed by the King-Emperor is known by all men of intelligence in India to be impossible, and such a calumny refutes itself.

After tolerance for the religious convictions and beliefs of all manners of people comes the administration of justice, pure and even-handed. As an eminent judge before he became a still more eminent statesman, Lord Reading has always been a champion of Justice and the Law. Without them he would say there is nothing to distinguish man from the beast. Nations must be classified by the character of their Courts, the lucidity and virtue of their Code, and the integrity of their Judges. Dr. Johnson defined the law as "the last result of human wisdom acting on human experience for the good of the public," and the learned Doctor went on to say that "one of the principal parts of human felicity arises from a wise and impartial administration of justice. Every man reposes in the tribunals of his country the stability of profession and the serenity of life." He concludes by declaring that those "who detract from the dignity of the Courts of Justice not only do an injury to those who dispense the laws, but diminish the public confidence in the laws themselves and shake the foundations of public tranquillity."

Making this quotation a text, Lord Reading turned these telling phrases to account in a public admonition : "I would that these wise words might be pondered over and taken to heart by those who preach and incite the practice of non-observance of the law, who forget that in the law is vested the felicity of their fellow men, the security of life and the foundation of public tranquillity in India. It is only by respect for the law, and with the help of the law's protection,

that India can advance on the road to a wider realization of herself and to the great place awaiting her in the Empire."

Let us hope that this advice will not fall on deaf ears or be thrown away on those who will not listen !

After religion and justice comes education. Yet education itself counts for little if it does not produce intelligence and enlightenment. Rudimentary knowledge has some material uses, but it has little value either to the individual or the State if it fails to produce a sense of proportion and just appreciation of the conditions of one's environment. Education is or ought to be the sound basis of reason and the inspirer of reasonable views, but too often the result is the opposite. This may be due to the contracted and ever-contracting openings in life for the educated, who when they find that all their toil and time will not produce a livelihood become discontented and dangerous members of society. Lord Reading made some apposite remarks in a speech he delivered at Lahore—

"I have been greatly impressed in India with the narrow field of aspirations which bounds the vision of the educated young men of this great country. Too many are prone not to look beyond Government service or the legal profession as the only possible goal for their educational careers. In these vocations there is obviously room for only a limited number and the opportunities for an outstanding and successful career are definitely restricted. Yet around them lies a vast country as yet largely deprived of the advantages of technical and scientific training. In every direction there are sources of wealth and production waiting to be explored, waiting to be approved and ready to yield their secrets to the magic touch of knowledge.

"In this field it appears to me that the students of this College (Lyallpur Agricultural College) can play a notable part. They go forth from the College as pioneers of development of immense potential service to themselves and their province. They can practice the improved methods of agriculture learnt here, and instruct by their example their neighbours who have not had the good fortune to participate in the technical education received by them.

Agriculture is a science, and in agriculture, as in other branches of human knowledge, no finite stage has yet been reached. Denmark and other countries which have specialized in agricultural science have successfully demonstrated the vast and continuous improvements in agriculture which the spread of knowledge can produce, and the great increase in wealth which the diffusion of technical methods never fails to achieve. Let me impress these facts on the students of this College, and congratulate them on the great opportunities which their education in this College has placed in their path."

In this enumeration of the essential features of national progress there will be found abundant evidence that India is advancing on all sides towards increased prosperity within her own borders and increased consideration in the eyes of the world outside them. But despite this advancement she is no more free than other States from the risk of a check and setback, and if that contingency were to arrive it might well be followed in her case by a long period of inanition or suspended animation. What is necessary to avert a great national catastrophe? Political wisdom and self-restraint, and a large measure of that patience which Lord Reading has so often preached and extolled.

At this moment there have been brought into sharp collision in Indian political circles two rival forces—the one styled wreckers or revolutionaries, believing in the efficacy of the boycott and advocating the methods of Red Russia. Regardless of the consequences or the future they demand everything at once, they will not listen to delay, and they seem inclined to risk all they have acquired—and it is much—sooner than allow a little space for reflection and observation. If their demands were satisfied where is the evidence that they would desist from further agitation and clamour? To-day the British Government is their mark, but to-morrow it would be the self-ruling States. Nothing would content them from the Himalayas to Ceylon. Yet these extremists are numerically but a small part of the educated community. There are men of calm vision and clear judgment in abundance, but unfortunately they are silent or backward in coming

forward, or perhaps they cannot brace themselves to endure the blows of political strife or the slings of calumny. When they find their views flouted, and their advice unheeded they retire from the fray and bury themselves in their own reflections. But unless there is an end to this timidity and backwardness worse things than disappointment and chagrin will befall, and the whole country will be overwhelmed in a common grief and suffering.

To this effect Lord Reading has frequently uttered words of advice and warning. What could be more appealing and effective than the following ?—

“ It must be remembered that India’s progress will depend mainly upon the co-operation of the people and the impression produced upon the British Government when the reforms again come before them for consideration. There are occasions when I wonder whether those aspects always remain present to the minds of some who are among the representatives of various shades of Indian political thought. To those who desire the advancement of India along the road mapped out for her these considerations should be of supreme importance. I cannot view with complete unconcern the various suggestions and proposals indicating action that may be adopted when the newly elected Legislative Assembly commences its sessions. It may be useful to pause for a moment, and consider quietly and temperately the consequences if the threatened storm cloud did make its appearance, and failed to disperse in the serene atmosphere it would meet on the journey. If the crisis did arise it certainly would not paralyse Government for you may rest assured that we shall be prepared to meet the situation. The Government of the country will be continued, the administration will be carried on as before, save that the Reformed Constitution will be in abeyance. If this should happen I leave you to imagine the effect upon the British people and their representatives in Parliament, and upon those who have persistently striven for the institution of representative Government.”

In spite of the generally improving financial and industrial situation in India the future of the country depends on

political considerations which control the national movement. The events of the last few months have rendered the crisis more acute, and have brought into sharper contrast extreme and moderate views. The Kenya decision, unsatisfactory as it might be called from the Indian point of view even with the subsequent modifications, was followed by threats and attempts at a general "boycott" which did not mature. People had already realized after experience that the "boycott" often proves a boomerang which hurts those who launch it rather than those at whom it is aimed. Political assassinations recurred in Bengal, reason was abandoned and passion became the dominating instinct of the hour. The opening of the Legislative session was heralded by a stormy period in which it seemed to be imagined, notwithstanding Lord Reading's warning, that the Government could be brought to a state of impotency and a complete standstill. No one appears to have faced the plain fact that no Government can be rendered helpless except by superior force. It is unnecessary, one would imagine, to say more in the present instance.

But at this moment an event happened outside India which seemed to the excited minds of the extremists to provide a positive assurance that their views would prevail, and that they had only to go on asking with persistence to receive. The event was the formation of a Labour Government in London. It was imagined that such an administration would yield on every point, and that its greatest effort would be devoted to the task of doing the exact opposite of its predecessor and especially with regard to India. India's day was declared to have arrived, no, not India's, but that of the Swarajists and the most extreme among them. And for some weeks this impression retained its full force, during which the Legislative session commenced. It was bruited about that the session would be stormy, and that a majority had bound themselves together to obstruct Government business, and to produce in a little time complete confusion and cessation of administration. It was declared that behind the immediate intention of hindering and humiliating the Government, there was a deeper

purpose to impress the Labour party in England, to gain its sympathy and support, and to bring it round to the view that the only way to pacify India was to concede everything the Swarajists asked, and *at once*.

Events will show what happened, but we must first turn to the opening of the Session on 31st January, 1924. In his speech which, by the consent of all who heard it, was the most eloquent and impressive Lord Reading had delivered since his arrival in India, the Viceroy endeavoured to arrest the coming storm, to turn men's minds into a reasonable mood, and to indicate the true path to be followed. I will detach two passages from the address, the first dealing with the conspiracy in Bengal.

"As regards events in India the two murderous outrages which have recently occurred in Bengal have caused a deep concern to my Government as they have excited reprobation and abhorrence in the minds of all good citizens of every community. It is the primary duty of Government to vindicate the law against such outrages and to bring their perpetrators to justice, and my Government is entitled to look for the moral support and active co-operation of all sections of the public in the task. We owe to the families of those who have been victims our deep and respectful sympathy, but we have an even wider duty—the duty to safeguard others from similar calamity. My Government have for some time been made aware of the existence of conspiracies having as their object the assassination of public servants, and of the correspondence of persons implicated in those conspiracies with Communist agencies directed by organizations outside India. It was out of the question to permit these sinister designs to advance on their way to results that no process of law can remedy. Our officers on whom devolve the dangerous task of the prevention and detention of crime must look to us for that measure of safety which their own services secure to the public. Punishment in cases of outrages of this nature is not an efficient substitute for prevention. It became necessary to take steps to confine certain of the persons concerned in these conspiracies. The necessity for these

measures has recently received tragic confirmation in the murder of Mr. Day, and the injuries to three Indians who attempted to stop the flight of his assailant."

The vindication of the law, the security of the subject, the maintenance of internal peace call for no elaborate apology. They form an essential and natural part of all settled government, and no administration that fails to provide for these fundamental conditions can be regarded as satisfactory or entitled to endure.

But the essential part of Lord Reading's address on this occasion partook of the nature of a solemn warning—

"If I am to credit all I read there is now a spirit in India which is bent upon the destruction of the Reforms unless it immediately attains that which it is impossible for any British Government to grant forthwith, that is complete Dominion self-government. I cannot foretell the future. I do not know what it holds, but I cannot conceal from you that the political situation in India in its constitutional aspects causes me some anxiety for the future of the Reforms. I should be doing a disservice to India if I failed at this moment to give expression to my views formed, not upon a hasty or cursory survey, but as the result of as profound a study and reflection as I can bring to bear upon a subject of supreme interest to me.

"In October last I sounded a note of warning which I must repeat here. In the friendliest spirit, but in all gravity, I spoke with the object of presenting the picture of the future, as I then saw it, to those in India who had not failed in their support of the Reforms policy. You may remember that I adverted to the possible prospect, according to the then indication of events, of a check which I deplored in the onward progress of the Reforms. The possibility of this check has come nearer to us. Indeed it is in a degree already with us in some aspects, although it has not yet happened, and I earnestly trust it will not happen in the Central Legislature.

"I still wonder what purpose beneficial to India will be served by any course destined to destroy the continuity of progress in the Reform movement. No change in the constitution can be effected by legitimate and peaceful means

save with the assent of the British Parliament, that is the British people. I gather that there is a disposition in some quarters to believe that the hands of the British Parliament can be forced and that a situation may be created which may impair the Reforms and thus cause Parliament to act contrary to their desire and better judgment. It may appear easy to impair and even to destroy and re-create. Doubtless destruction is always easier than construction. Violent revolutions have destroyed the institutions of nations. Neglect and apathy in other cases have induced their decay and extinction, but I beg you to remember that when influences of this nature have been set in motion restoration and re-creation become infinitely more difficult and sometimes impossible. These influences make no appeal to the British people, and the British Parliament would emphatically repudiate and reject them. Rather rest the real hopes of the consummation of India's desires in the promises already made, and in the intentions already manifested and to be manifested by that great champion of liberties, the British Parliament."

As if to give point to these warnings and admonitions, a few weeks after they were uttered and while the Legislative Assembly was engaged in the task of obstruction and of wrecking Government, Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State in the Labour Government, made two decisive statements which should have brought home to every one in India the truth of Lord Reading's warning that to whatever political Party the Government might belong there were certain basic foundations from which no Government would or could depart. On the two main points with regard to which the extremists were clamouring Lord Olivier pronounced a clear and distinct negative. There could be no reference he said, in the first place, to a Round Table Conference, and secondly, there should be no appointment of a statutory commission to consider whether an immediate extension of the constitution is desirable. These emphatic pronouncements should have given fresh point to Lord Reading's oft-repeated counsels that the most needed quality in the public life of India at the present time is patience.

In point of time, Lord Reading's tenure of the Viceroyship has now run but half its course, and it would be foolish to attempt to predict what may happen in the second stage. He came out as the enthusiastic champion of the Reforms. The occurrences of the last twelve months must have damped his enthusiasm and diminished his hopes ; but even at the most pessimistic hour he has never laid aside his suave dignity accompanied, perhaps, by an involuntary revelation of his wonder that men can be so impatient and unwise. He has proved himself a sincere and courageous friend of India. His sustained efforts contributed mainly to the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne which satisfied my co-religionists in India, and restored the harmony of Anglo-Turkish relations. His championing of Indian rights in Kenya, if it has not attained so positive a result, has at least, secured some important modifications of the original decision, and may in the course of time produce others. With regard to the last Reforms of the Montagu-Chelmsford programme his mission was to give them a good start, and to prepare the way for the favourable consideration of the results when the stipulated period ends in 1929. Half the interval has elapsed, but it cannot be said that any effort has been made to create a favourable atmosphere. Instead of absolute confidence as to the result doubt and distrust cloud the present, and unless some indubitable change takes place in public opinion and public conduct denial and disappointment must be the outcome.

It is perhaps only natural that we, Mahomedans, should be in closer sympathy with the British system than the Hindus, for we retain the tradition of Imperial rule, and we were always accustomed to a central authority. Apart from the three centuries of our Mogul dynasty India has never possessed a unity of existence and power, excluding perhaps some remote and unhistoric past. The patriotism of the Indians has been localized, concentrated in the persons of their separate reigning families, and while intense of its kind unequal to bear the burden of holding and defending India as a whole. So it follows that if India were to obtain prematurely and precipitately the full measure of

self-government for which so many of her politicians are clamouring, it would be followed very speedily by the disruption of the country, and its splitting up into separate and independent kingdoms, not animated by a single spirit but alienated from each other by old rivalries, new competitions, and unbridgeable differences of caste.

This prospect does not appeal to the Moslems of India, and more especially because they are not concentrated in solid masses, but separated broadcast over the whole of the Peninsula where for the greater part they constitute minorities among the surrounding Hindus. For this and other reasons upon which I need not enlarge, there is a better prospect of maintaining solidarity between the British and the Moslems than there is between the British and the Hindus. We share the same views of authority, our traditions are not dissimilar, and as we have our own code and the teachings of our Prophet to enlighten and guide us we are not so wedded to the narrow Indian persuasions as to believe that within them lie the only path of honour and the only foundation of wisdom.

In a day of trouble the truth and force of these words may be made apparent. No one can foresee or foretell the future, but it is time for all the true friends of India to ask themselves calmly and searchingly the question : Whither are we going ? The signs of the moment point to stormy weather. What may be expected if the storm break, and unreflecting men, set on wreckage and revolution, have their way and " let loose the dogs of war " ? Every Government beneath the velvet glove keeps the hand of iron ; when the iron softens the Government expires. Is there any one so foolish as to imagine that Great Britain, whose resources and tenacity decided the Great War, has reached that stage ? If there are such persons let them quit the busy marts of men for some solitude in which they may pursue their dreaming without injury to their fellows. But wiser, and calmer spirits will turn to Lord Reading's speeches for inspiration, finding in them sane judgment, the teachings of wide knowledge and experience, revealed in the workings of a master-mind.

Earl of Reading's Speeches
in India
from April 1921, to January 1924

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1921. 2ND APRIL.

Reply to Address of Welcome from the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Pray accept my very cordial thanks for the address of welcome you have just read, and for the warm-hearted greetings and good wishes of the Corporation and the citizens of Bombay. You have expressed their sentiments in such eloquent language that my earnest desire to contribute to the welfare and happiness of India and the Indian people would, if possible, be intensified. Doubtless this is the experience of every new Viceroy, for it would be presumptuous indeed to imagine that any of my predecessors on landing on these shores would be animated otherwise than by the best intentions and highest motives, but I should not be human if at this first moment of finding myself in India I were not almost overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task I have undertaken, and the vast responsibilities that will devolve upon me. It is therefore especially gratifying when the heart looks round for some encouragement and support to find your address of welcome. Evidently no pains have been spared to make me, almost a complete stranger, feel that you are particularly desirous of displaying the innate Eastern courtesy by extending a friendly hand and gracious smile to one who comes here charged with so high and important a mission. Your well-known loyalty to the King-Emperor would of itself assure an official welcome, but I think I detect something more delicate and more graceful in your address. I note especially your sympathetic reference to the ancient race to which I belong, and observe with pleasure that you state that your pride in welcoming me is enhanced by this circumstance. It is my only connection with the East until the present moment, and this leads me to wonder whether perhaps by some fortunate, almost indefinably subtle, sub-consciousness, it may quicken and facilitate my understanding of the aims and aspirations, the trials and tribulations, the joys and sorrows, of the Indian people, and assist me to catch the almost inarticulate cries and inaudible whispers of those multitudes who sometimes suffer most, and yet find it difficult, if not impossible, to express their needs.

As I listened to your brief but succinct recital of the plans and activities of your Municipality, I recognized that you have

every reason to be proud of it, and its energy and capacity in striving to solve, in its own way, the problems that confront us in England, and throughout the civilized world. The provision of better housing accommodation is surely one of the best means of discharging the important duties and responsibilities that rest upon the shoulders of those entrusted with the municipal welfare of the citizen. These bear an eloquent testimony to the local patriotism and the public spirit of the Municipality and its citizens. Those who in the future inhabit or visit this great and beautiful city will have some cause gratefully to remember the activities of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, who, in spite of the unceasing calls upon his time, has devoted so much thought and energy to carrying through the great development scheme and has for so excellent a purpose taken advantage of the powers to raise the first provincial loan in the Presidency. I earnestly trust that the success which has hitherto attended the scheme will continue throughout its execution and after its completion, and that the results will be so beneficial that even the sceptics, if there are any, will stand convinced, and will join in praise of all concerned. Your proposed plans for increasing the supply of water, and for improving sanitation are of great interest. What more important subjects can occupy the attention of a municipality than housing, water supply, and drainage. I need not dilate upon their obvious value to the community, and for this reason I shall be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to such financial proposals as may require support and encouragement from me. I am looking forward to becoming more closely acquainted with your operations under the guidance and with the companionship of His Excellency the Governor, whom I am glad to claim as an old colleague in the House of Commons. I thank you for the very kindly reference you made to the public service I have been able to render to my country. I am very grateful for the privilege of the opportunities that have been afforded to me in the past. When after the war I laid down my position as special Ambassador to the United States of America, and returned to the Lord Chief Justiceship of England, I little thought that I should so soon voluntarily retire to accept the higher and more exalted office of Viceroy of India. I know that the part that awaits me is, as you say, arduous. Indeed I was aware of it when I gave up my place of serene dignity to accept a place of perhaps greater dignity, but certainly of less serenity—but I shall set out cheered and encouraged by your welcome, with hopefulness in my heart, and mainly because all

my experiences of human beings and human affairs have convinced me that justice and sympathy never fail to evoke responsive chords in the hearts of men of whatever race, creed, or class.

They are the brightest gems in any diadem. Without them there is no lustre in the crown. With them there is a radiance that never fails to attract loyalty and affection. You draw attention to the close approximation of views expressed by that great Indian, Dadabhoy Naoroji, whom I had the honour to know, with those enunciated by me from my seat as Lord Chief Justice when taking leave of the Bench and Bar. It is true that as Viceroy I shall be privileged to practise justice in larger fields than in the courts of law, but the justice now in my charge is not confined within the statutes of law reports. It is a justice that is unfettered, and has regard to all conditions and circumstances, and should be pursued in close alliance with sympathy and understanding, above all it must be regardless of distinctions and rigorously impartial. The British reputation for justice must never be impaired during my tenure of office, and I am convinced that all who are associated in the Government and administration of Indian affairs will strive their utmost to maintain this reputation at its highest standard. I, as you, Mr. President observed, arrive in India at a very momentous period of its political history. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, an old and tried friend of India, has only just left these shores, after taking part in his own simple, dignified, affectionate and touching way, as a special representative of the King-Emperor in the ceremonies of the inauguration of the new Councils and reforms. These are now in operation, and mark the opening of a new book in the history of India. They will ever be associated with the name of His Excellency the Viceroy, whose tenure of office is just expiring, and the present Secretary of State. What the people of India will write on the pages of the new book which is opened by this era of political advancement must inevitably have a most important effect upon the future of India, and yet notwithstanding these great progressive reforms, I must regretfully admit your statement that there is discontent in India. I join with you in prayer that it may be my good fortune to allay it, but I must not at this moment discuss its causes or effects. India is too responsive and too generous to expect me to make pronouncements which could not be based upon my own individual observations and information.

Any declaration of policy to-day would be, must be, founded

upon the opinions of others, and could not be the result of my own deliberate judgment. I feel convinced that I shall best discharge my duty to the King-Emperor and serve the interests of India if I take time to collect information, seek advice, and form conclusions. Meanwhile I must not utter an incautious word, or take a hasty step. I have no doubt that India will understand and respect my reticence at this moment. Let me express the grateful thanks of my wife for your welcome and good wishes for her health and happiness. Permit me to join her in these expressions, and to add that the opportunity of helping to promote the welfare of the women and children of the country contributes notably to the attractions of her position here. In conclusion, I pray that it may be my good fortune during my tenure of office to achieve, with the loyal and whole-hearted co-operation of British and Indians, some lasting benefit for India, and that these next years may revive and enhance her economic prosperity, and contribute to her material and spiritual well-being, to the end that peace, goodwill, and happiness may reign among her people.

Replying to the Deputation from the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau on 3rd April, Lord Reading dealt particularly in one passage of his reply with the part India took in the Great War.

You refer naturally to the War, in which India behaved with such deep and devoted loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the cause for which we were fighting. Nothing was more splendid, and I trust that nothing that ever happens will make us, British and Indians, together regret that we struggled for great and high ideals which India took to her heart equally with ourselves. Whilst it is true that there have been disappointments after the War, I am afraid these are inevitable. People cannot always live, even in a spiritual country like India, at the extreme height of the noblest ideals, since we are only human beings, but, that we, together, British and Indians, reached these altitudes, should always be a bond between us. May I add one further word based upon much observation, that, notwithstanding the disappointment at this moment, I am convinced, that, as a result of the struggle for higher ideals, the world will be the better, although it may not be apparent at this particular moment. There is disappointment aroused by these exchange and currency questions that have supervened after the War. I do not suggest

that it is much comfort or consolation, yet even here it is always well to remember that the chaotic condition of exchange in other countries is infinitely worse than it is in India. I am not disposed to be unhopeful in this matter. I have noted carefully every word you said about the present condition of affairs caused by the large import trade by India and the vast purchases, based apparently upon the view that the rupee would be kept stabilised at the higher rate. I am aware of that position. Observations have been made, as I have noticed, about the commercial morality of the merchants. Commercial morality affects credit; credit is a very tender, delicate and sensitive plant, and if credit is once affected it takes long to restore it. I do not suppose for a moment that there is ground for any suggestion of lack of commercial morality. Of course, a difficult situation has been created; I won't go back to the causes. I have observed in some quarters suggestions that this Government over which I preside should intervene. Without pronouncing any final word—I have not yet had any opportunity of meeting the members of my Council or of discussing the situation with Mr. Hailey, the Finance Member—I will tell you my own present views. Difficulties have arisen between merchants, vendors and purchasers. In the ordinary course these are matters that must be solved between them, and do not seem to require that Government should intervene. This is my personal impression at this moment. All I will now say is that I trust that means will be found, as they are often between persons who are left to regulate their own trade positions, between themselves to alleviate the present strained situation, so that it will gradually tend to disappear, and that you will be restored to the conditions which existed before the present crisis. And now let me thank you very much for your welcome. May I add that I was very much impressed yesterday, arriving as a stranger in this beautiful city amongst vast numbers of people of whom perhaps I might claim to know at most three or four individuals. This welcome was one which went to my heart. I do not take it as a personal compliment; I believe it was intended as an encouragement to me in coming here to meet what is undoubtedly a most difficult situation, to believe that the people have not set their hearts against the new Viceroy, but rather that they gladly welcomed a Viceroy who wished to be in sympathy with them. It is from this that I take some comfort to myself. It leads me to study the situation with hopefulness, which, I trust, I shall carry to the end of my responsibilities. If only Indians throughout India

and the British with myself all work in union in the closest co-operation for the development of Indian resources, for India's prosperity, there can be no doubt that India will become prosperous and happy.

*Speech at the Chelmsford Club Dinner
held at Simla on 30th May.*

Sir William Vincent, Mr. Shafi, Your Excellencies and gentlemen,—Permit me first to express my thanks to the members of the Chelmsford Club for giving me the opportunity of being present this evening and of meeting so many of the members and their guests, and let me thank you for the cordiality of your response to the toast of my health. I always think that I could enjoy the toast better, and I cannot but think that it would be more conducive to that health to which you drank, if I had not the painful consciousness that I had to make a response. But on the whole I am glad that you have given me this opportunity and also afforded an occasion for the graceful and eloquent speech which Mr. Shafi has just uttered. I am very grateful to him for all that he has said about myself, which, of course, was a little coloured by post-prandial oratory, but I am one of those fortunate individuals whose privilege it is to contribute, however humbly, to the public service of his country, privileged and fortunate because opportunities came to me, which would have been welcomed by everyone else, if they had been afforded to them. Your club bears the name of my distinguished predecessor, Viscount Chelmsford. It was, I gather, instituted by him for the purpose of founding an association where both Europeans and Indians could meet and express thoughts, commune in ideas, discuss problems, arrive at understandings and, as is generally the result, leave each other with the knowledge that there is more good in the other than at first seemed apparent. I am minded to-night to speak to you very briefly on certain propositions which I think are established beyond the possibility of doubt. The first is the fundamental principle of British rule in India. I suppose there is no one—there is no section of the British community I am sure—who would dispute the proposition that here in India there can be no trace, and must be no trace, of racial inequality. No one can study the problems of India without realising at the outset that there is some suspicion and, perhaps at the present moment, some misunderstanding between us. Well, I am convinced that whatever may be thought

by our Indian friends not present in this room—I do not refer to those present because they are conscious of the contrary—I say, we do not for a moment indulge in any notions of racial superiority or predominance. I think this is axiomatic of British rule, although I am perfectly prepared to admit that there may be undoubtedly certain questions with which I am striving to make myself familiar, in which there will be an opportunity for putting this equality on a firmer basis than at present exists—and as a corollary scientifically considered—it is not a separate proposition, and I am sure that it will demand from you as whole-hearted support as the proposition which I have just enunciated—I say that there cannot be and must never be humiliation under British rule of any Indian because he is an Indian. And I would add one further proposition which I believe is as true as either of those to which I have given utterance, and which found support from you, that we British people in India and those also in our own country must realise that we have much suspicion to disperse, many misunderstandings to banish from amongst us, and that in truth the essence to my mind, of co-operation between us and Indians is that we should convince them by our actions, which will accord with our thoughts and intentions, that we honestly and sincerely mean what we have said with regard to India. This may not be accomplished in a day. I am not disposed to-night to follow Mr. Shafi in some of the observations that he made because, if I did, I should detain you longer than I intend, and give an ill-return for your hospitality, but I am so thoroughly satisfied from long experience and some knowledge of public affairs, that it is only by the interchange of thought and by constant communion between members of different races existing under the same Government and having precisely the same object in view—the welfare of India—that we can arrive at satisfactory results. I have recently had an opportunity of testing the value of this interchange of thought—although I must admit that in the full, free and frank discussion that took place between Mr. Gandhi and myself, I cannot tell you all that happened—yet the veil has been to some extent lifted and there is no secret as to how the interview came about. Unless it should be thought that there was any concealment about it I will tell you what happened. Mr. Malaviya came to see me, and we had several interviews to my profit, and I hope also to his—because, I think, two men cannot exchange ideas and discuss problems without deriving some benefit to either side. He left me with the impression that he would like me to see

Mr. Gandhi. Well, it did occur to me that my address was not altogether unknown—but I informed Mr. Malaviya that if Mr. Gandhi applied to me for an interview I would readily grant it, and I should be glad to hear his views. The consequence was that in due course Mr. Gandhi did apply and there was not only one interview but several interviews between us. There was no finesse or manœuvring about it. It seemed to be a plain and straightforward arrangement for an interview. Here again I think I am not quite so free to tell you all that you might desire to know—yet I will say that I am quite certain that the results of these interviews produced at least this satisfactory result, that I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me. The result may be somewhat vague and indefinite, yet it is not entirely so. As you may be aware, the result of these visits and discussions was that Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali have issued a public pronouncement which, doubtless, you have seen to-day, expressing their sincere regret for certain speeches that they had made inciting to violence and have given a solemn public undertaking that they will not repeat these speeches or similar speeches so long as they remain associated with Mr. Gandhi. I do not want to discuss this matter at any length. I merely refer to it, as showing that the interviews were not entirely fruitless, because so far as the Government is concerned, we achieved our immediate object, which was to prevent incitement of violence, which I have had occasion once before to say, almost always re-acts with fatal effect upon those who are most innocent. We, as a Government, have a duty to perform. We have to protect those who may be thus led away and we therefore had determined to take steps in order to vindicate the law, to maintain its authority, and to prevent the recurrence of any further violence. Fortunately, it has not been necessary to have recourse to the ordinary law of the land for the reason that we have now got the undertaking to which I have referred. I certainly shall assume that it is intended to keep that undertaking, and that the expressions of regret are as sincere as the expressions seem to denote, and so long as that undertaking is observed we need not fear that such speeches will recur, and, provided the undertaking is observed, they too may be sure that there will be no prosecution for them.

I am thinking at this moment of all the impressions that India has made upon me and the Indians with whom I have so much come into contact since my arrival here. May I say in all earnestness, that whenever I have met an Indian and

discussed the problems with him, I have felt sure that there was, in spite of all that might be said, a true bond of sympathy between us and Indians. I am not a pessimist. I have never fallen a victim to that fell and paralyzing disease. I started from home full of hope and trust in the future, because in the little time I had been able to give to the study of India and Indians, I had already detected that there was a sympathetic feeling between us; that there exists, perhaps, with them a more delicate and intense sensitiveness than is the case with us people of Northern Europe. But it is an attractive attribute when carefully studied and considered, and when due regard is paid to it. I do believe that Indians will respond whole-heartedly to the just rule which we intend to carry on. I am fortunate in this, that in my Executive Council I have members who, one and all, share the views that I have expressed to you this evening. There is no difference or dissension of opinion among us. We are all animated by the same purpose and are pursuing the same object, and we mean to carry out our duty. We mean to act up to our responsibilities. Whatever happens, we shall pursue our way. We shall do what we think is right. Even if we do what is right, from some things I have learnt and read, I am afraid we shall nevertheless be suspected of sinister and evil motives. But I believe that the world has taught us that good purpose and good action must have their results, and all we ask is that there should not be immediately a suspicion that the purpose and the motives are evil, even though the action may be right, ever so right, in itself. It is not, I think, a very exaggerated demand to make. We are accustomed to believe that actions are judged by their results, as to whether they are for good or for evil. I have learnt that one of the most difficult tasks that men can set themselves is to ascertain the motives of another. If you look to your lives amongst your own friends, if you like a man, his action may appear to be a little questionable, but you are sure his motive is good; if you dislike him, though his action may be ever so good you are sure his motive is bad. My judicial training has taught me to discard both these, to examine the actions, and to arrive at the motives from the character of the actions which are performed, and, sir, that is the task to which we have set our heads, and as I told you it is this course which we intend to pursue. We believe that in the end we shall satisfy Indians and bring them to sympathetic co-operation and goodwill with us, working for that great purpose which lies before us to lead India to that high destiny, which is

in store for it when it becomes the partner in our Empire, when it has attained its full development and risen to those heights, which the imagination of men, in my judgment, is as yet incapable of comprehending, when India shall have obtained that place among the councils of the Empire which shall enable her to exert her influence upon the councils of the world.

*Reply to a Deputation from the Ahmadyya Community
at Viceregal Lodge at Simla on 23rd June*

I am glad to have the opportunity to-day to meet you, the representatives of the Ahmadyya Community, and to thank you for the congratulations which you have been good enough through your secretary to express in the address to me upon my assumption of the office of Viceroy of India. I have listened with very deep interest to the account of the origin and growth of your community, and have heard with real satisfaction of the loyal services which your community has been able to render to the King-Emperor. Let me say that I was impressed on the introduction of your members by finding so many representatives of different professions, and of different vocations of life, and in particular may I be permitted to say how pleased I was to find that among the members of this deputation to-day were two sons of the holy founder of your religion? And, again, let me add that it was a special satisfaction to see amongst so many who by their costume, by their uniform they wear, and the medals upon their breasts, are clearly ready to defend with their lives in the future, as they have done in the past, whenever the necessity may come, the loyalty that they owe to their King-Emperor. The services of your community, let me assure you, are not less appreciated by me than by my predecessor. I congratulate you heartily on the spirit of loyalty which you have displayed sometimes in the face of great difficulties, as well as on the measure of assistance which you have been able to render. You have referred in moderate language to the momentous problems with which my Government is confronted, and you have made certain suggestions with regard to them. You have particularly referred to certain difficulties with which the Government is confronted in the near East, and upon those you have laid special stress. Reference is to be found also to other difficulties, such as internal problems, and the conditions of the Indian, and the recognition of citizenship in the British Dominions and Colonies. You will appreciate that it is not possible within

the limits appropriate to a reply to your address to traverse the whole ground covered by these difficult and complicated questions, and you have the advantage that though in making these representations to me you have the responsibility of expressing your views, it is upon the Government that the duty devolves of giving practical effect to them. But in general terms, I can assure you, that all these questions receive the constant and anxious attention of the Government.

In particular I would ask you to bear in mind the efforts that the Government of India have consistently made to secure terms of peace with Turkey more in accordance with the religious susceptibilities of our Moslem fellow-subjects in this country. I speak from personal knowledge when I tell you that no reproach can justly be made by Indian Moslems against Lord Chelmsford or the present Secretary of State, for both of these distinguished gentlemen persistently and most forcibly represented the Indian Moslem views, and left no stone unturned to place them before the Allied Powers. If the facts were more fully known, a more generous acknowledgment would be made to both of these distinguished friends of India. Since I have been Viceroy I have done the utmost in my power to continue to represent these views to His Majesty's Government. These efforts of the Indian Moslems have not been fruitless. The recent deputation of your fellow countrymen has put the views of Indian Moslems before the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and also before His Majesty's Government, and as you are well aware, this deputation has received the most sympathetic consideration. I do not mean by that that everything that they asked was promised to them. That was hardly possible, and indeed the Prime Minister explained that he could not fully accept these representations. But he went a very long way, as I am sure you will admit, when he made the promise, and when he has used his powers as he has used them, for the purpose of getting the Treaty of Sèvres modified very much in favour of Turkey. That these terms have not yet been accepted by the Powers involved cannot be laid to the fault of the Prime Minister or of the British Government. I wish that the facts to which I have just referred were a little more generally recognized. I know that many Mahomedans are free to admit that a great change has been made in the situation by the reception which the Prime Minister gave to the deputation, and by the statements that were made afterwards by Mr. Montagu embodying the terms the British Government were prepared to put forward to Greece and

Turkey, and of which the British Government is seeking its best to obtain acceptance. But it does seem as if there are some among the Indian Moslems who are more anxious to find fault with the British Government and more desirous of embarrassing the British Rule in India than they are of recognizing the efforts that are made to placate, and indeed even to content, the Indian Moslems. There is at the present moment a recrudescence of the tendency in some quarters to represent Great Britain as hostile to Islam, and to indulge in references to the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the Kemal Government at Angora, which do not seem to be warranted by the facts. The rumour that an ultimatum has been presented to that Government by the British is, so far as I am aware, untrue. I don't know whence the rumour comes. I have heard nothing of it. His Majesty's ministers have on repeated occasions emphatically contradicted the suggestion that they are giving the Greeks any assistance in the campaign now proceeding in Asia Minor. A great responsibility rests upon those who choose to make themselves the means of disseminating the notion in India that in its relations with the Angora Government His Majesty's Government has only shown another example of its alleged hostility towards Islam, and of its resolve to crush the last remnant of Islamic temporal power. There is not a vestige of truth in that statement. Nothing could be further from the truth than to say that Britain is out to destroy the Islamic power, and let me tell you that no statement is more calculated to tend to trouble and unrest among Indian Mahomedans. I most earnestly hope that as a result of events that are now proceeding, and of the efforts which are being made, as shown by the reports of Mr. Winston Churchill's speeches on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that their desire to bring about a reasonable peace with Turkey will succeed. I fervently trust that the neutrality so recently reaffirmed by His Majesty's Government in the struggle between Greece and Turkey may be continued, and that if the conflict in the Near East must proceed, Britain may not be compelled to depart from her declared policy, and I trust also that a just and reasonable peace may result from the endeavours of the Allied Powers between Greece and Turkey, which will content the Moslems, and particularly the Indian Moslems, who constitute so great and important a portion of the population of His Majesty's dominions. I will not detain you by reference in detail to other matters. I have to say that I am naturally impressed with the difficulties which

have arisen here in India as to the position of Indians in the dominions and colonies of the Empire. India's cause has always found a stalwart champion in this respect in the Government of India. At this moment India's representatives are in London, and will sit at the Imperial Conference. Thus you may be assured that the views of the people of India will be ably represented to the representatives of the dominions, and I need scarcely say that for my own part I shall always give this problem, closely affecting as it does India's position in the Empire, the very earnest attention that it most unquestionably merits. It has been my good fortune to meet round the conference table, or at the Imperial War Cabinet, all those who now represent His Majesty's dominions. They are statesmen who are never deaf to the views of reason, and are never blind to the considerations of equity, and I feel convinced that they will give every heed to the Indian representatives, always remembering their own responsibilities to their own constituents and to their own country, and to me the very fact that they will meet and discuss the problem is a great gain. Such a meeting always gives me hope and confidence. With regard to internal problems, let me only add that, as you are aware, I have given constant attention to them from the time that I landed in India and assumed office. My most earnest wish, and I know it is shared by every one of my colleagues is to promote a calmer and healthier political atmosphere based on mutual understanding, mutual respect, mutual sympathy and on racial equality. I am in full accord with you that wrongful acts must not be vindicated in a spirit of false pride, or to uphold an imaginary prestige, and I agree of course that justice must be meted out without fear or favour to all who offend, whether they be British or Indian. Our aim is by means of patience and tolerance, combined with firmness in the maintenance of order, and the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens, to arrive at better relations between the rulers and the ruled.

One observation only I must make in reference to your address. You speak of British officers, and you make some observations with regard to their attitude towards Indians. I am not sure what is meant. If you mean British officials, then I am sure that even though it may well be that errors are sometimes committed, they are not purposely made. There may be mistakes of judgment as will happen to us all, but there is no foundation, I verily believe, for any suggestion that the British official is anxious to assert racial superiority over the Indian

with whom he comes in contact. I am not sure that the suggestion is made, but as the language might imply it, I could not pass it. I have watched with the greatest care the reports which come to me from the various provinces of the actions of the officials. I know that here, as at Delhi, we are at a great distance from a number of our officials, but from my own observation up to this moment, and I am still naturally watching with care, I am deeply impressed by the high sense of duty and responsibility of these men who are serving the King-Emperor and India in their endeavours to govern in the districts to which they are appointed, and who manifest a great desire to act wisely and justly. If you mean by British officers, those who hold the King's Commission, then I again am rather at a loss to understand your observations. I am brought into close contact with those at the head of military affairs here, and who have particular charge of British officers in this country, and I have made it my business to enquire and am persistently enquiring, as to whether or not there is or is not any foundation for the suggestion of an assertion of racial superiority by British officers. I am assured by those who share my views, and are in the best position to know, that there is none. I make these remarks lest there might be a misunderstanding in reference to the expression that fell from you, but do not think for a moment that we claim infallibility, either for ourselves at Simla or for those who administer in remote districts. Far from it, we know how difficult the situation is, we know that human judgment is not infallible. All we can achieve is to act according to the dictates of our own honour, of our own conscience, with a supreme desire to do our duty, both to the King-Emperor and to India. In conclusion, I am very grateful to you for your cordial wishes and congratulations to Lady Reading, who daily finds greater satisfaction in her duties. For myself I am encouraged by your support. India has embarked on her momentous voyage towards representative government and equal partnership in the Empire. With all my heart I wish her success. I am privileged in that I have been entrusted for a time by the King-Emperor with the task of assisting in setting her course truly and guiding her safely on her great enterprise, but the captain on the bridge must have the cordial and ready assistance of all on board—officers, crew and passengers, and I know, gentlemen, that I shall receive that assistance from you in whatever capacity you may be called upon to perform it. I thank you for your expressions of loyalty. I thank you for your statement that

you are all to be depended upon in whatever emergency may occur.

*Viceroy's Reply to a Deputation
of the United Provinces' Liberal Association
on the 7th July at Simla*

I am very gratified to have this opportunity of meeting the representatives of so influential and important a body as the United Provinces' Liberal Association, which I understand includes among its members many hundreds of men of learning in your province, members of the bar, landowners and men distinguished in the various professions. Your first chairman, my colleague, the Hon. Dr. Sapru, has recently been selected by His Majesty for one of the highest offices in India. That is a fact on which your Association has just reason to be proud, and I think the Government of India are also to be congratulated on their latest recruit in the law membership of the Government of India. Dr. Sapru will find a wide field for those talents which won him so eminent a place at the bar, and which doubtless made you choose him as the first chairman of your Association. I am deeply grateful to you for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me on my assumption of the high office of Viceroy and Governor-General at this critical stage in Indian history. You have covered all the main issues of political controversy in your address, and in an eloquent passage in your address you say that justice, sympathy, equality and freedom are what India wants. With this sentiment I am in complete agreement, and am confident that these high ideals illumine and inspire those who are responsible for guiding India to the goal of responsible government within the British Empire, which is like your creed, and the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. May I in turn appeal to you, and I know I shall not appeal in vain, and through you to the countless numbers of your countrymen who, consciously or unconsciously, share your aspirations, for sympathy and assistance in our arduous task? We who hold high office in this country, whether British or Indian, are well aware that we are liable to error, that we may come to wrong conclusions, and that Governments, like all human institutions, have made mistakes. But we do claim that our motives are pure and sincere, and that we are honestly striving to achieve our common purpose along the lines laid down for us by Parliament, and in the manner we believe to be best calculated to

promote the happiness and welfare of India. Give us credit for sincerity and honesty of purpose and do not make our tasks more difficult by keeping alive the mistakes and errors of the past when we are striving to allay discontent and to promote better relations. You allude to the unhappy events of the Punjab of two years ago. The very regrettable mistakes and excesses committed on this occasion have been frankly admitted and deplored by official spokesmen and in official documents on more than one occasion. Let me quote only one passage by Sir William Vincent on behalf of the Government of India. The honourable member, after recalling and condemning the cruel and wanton murders and crimes of violence that preceded the acts to which you refer, said: "On the other hand we have over drastic and severe punishment, the excessive use of force, and acts which have been interpreted, and I am afraid reasonably interpreted, as calculated to humiliate the Indian people in a manner which cannot but be regarded as unpardonable morally, indefensible at any time, but more so than ever at a time when this country is about to enter upon a system of responsible government." Mistakes have been admitted, regrets have been expressed, and the moving appeal was made to forgive and forget. I refrain from further discussion in order that I may follow this exhortation. I shall only add that we must use the past to gather wisdom to guide us in the present and the future, and to help us to a closer and more sympathetic understanding of each other. As you know, I am engaged at present upon the examination of the cases of persons still imprisoned in connection with these disorders, and I shall shortly announce my conclusions. Apart from that, I do not see what purpose can now be served by reviving this unhappy chapter of our history, and I ask you, and through you all Indians who believe in constitutional methods, to endorse the view taken by the Legislative Assembly last February to let bygones be bygones, and to regard this chapter as closed, save for the lessons to be deduced for the guidance of the future.

You speak in your address of the terms of the Turkish Treaty. You acknowledge the efforts of the Government of India, and of the Secretary of State to secure a revision of these terms. I can assure you that these efforts have not been, and will not be, in any way relaxed, and that both the Secretary of State and the Government of India appreciate to the full, and are deeply sympathetic with, the feelings of Moslem India on this question. I have so recently expressed my views upon this

difficult question, that I shall not repeat them, but I know from my diplomatic experience how easily the settlement of differences between nations can be prejudiced by the creation of political atmosphere, and it seems to me that violent writing and speaking on this subject, both in India and elsewhere, can only have the effect of hampering our efforts, and of retarding, and even of imperilling the solution of a problem in which India takes so profound an interest.

You mention in your address the obstacles impeding the free emigration of Indians to the various dominions and colonies. I am glad to see that you recognize that in this case the fault does not lie with the Government of India, though you should in justice to His Majesty's Government admit that in the case at any rate of these governing dominions, the fault does not lie with the home Government, for in these matters His Majesty's Government, however sympathetic it may be to Indian aspirations, cannot impose its will upon the Governments of the self-governing dominions. As you doubtless know, both the Secretary of State, and my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, have done their utmost to remove the disabilities of which you complain, and to secure for Indians the full rights of citizenship within the Empire. Our efforts have not hitherto been so successful as we could have wished, but I can assure you that we shall not falter in our task. The problem of reconciling two widely divergent points of view on this matter is one of great difficulty, but I have great hopes of happy results from the visit to England of two Indians, two distinguished representatives on the Imperial Conference now sitting, His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and the Hon. Mr. Sastri. It is with the greatest satisfaction that I learn from the newspapers that these gentlemen have made a profound impression on the other members of the Conference, and I shall be grievously disappointed if their efforts have not tangible results.

You have expressed regret that the principle of responsibility has not been introduced in the Government of India. Well, gentlemen, you are well aware that the present form of Government was never intended to be final. It was devised for a period of transition. It is in itself an immense advance upon the past, and marks the confidence reposed in India by the British. You have expressed your profound disbelief in attempts at short cuts to the goal of self-government by whatever label they may be described. I venture to express agreement with this view. In the language of the famous announcement of August, 1917,

advance must depend on the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service have been conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. But surely it is hardly in accordance with facts to say that the elected representatives of people in the central legislature possess no power. No impartial observer can deny that the Legislatures, both at headquarters and in the provinces, have in fact exercised the greatest influence over the executive, and have developed powers possibly even greater than the authors of the reform schemes originally contemplated. It is a high tribute to the sense of responsibility of the legislatures that these powers have practically in every instance been exercised with a wise moderation, and herein lies the brightest augury for the future of representative institutions in this country.

With the desire of the people of India, apart from those classes who already belong to the splendid Indian Army, to take a larger share in the defence of their country, I am entirely in sympathy. We are doing all in our power to meet this very laudable desire, but as you have recognised, considerations of efficiency must be paramount. It is for this reason that it has been found necessary to proceed slowly and cautiously with the experiment of granting King's Commissions to Indians. Since this policy was introduced we have sent each year to Sandhurst the number of cadets which was fixed by His Majesty's Government. This represents about twenty per cent of the number of the commissions in the Indian Army given annually at present from Sandhurst. All those who are given cadetships do not unfortunately qualify for commissions, but the remedy rests with the cadets themselves. You will, I feel sure, agree that efficiency must be the first consideration, and that there are no grounds for admitting to the honour of a King's Commission, with the great responsibility such a commission entails, anyone, whether British or Indian, who fails to attain the requisite standard of efficiency. We are anxious, however, to afford special educational facilities to Indian lads who desire to enter the commissioned ranks of the Army in order to fit them to take full advantage of the Sandhurst course. With this object in view we are pressing on a scheme for the establishment of a school at Dehra Dun where education will be given that will enable young men to pass into Sandhurst and to do credit to their Motherland while there. I have reason to hope that this school will be opened early next year. With reference

to the general question of training Indians for the defence of their country the rules under the Territorial Force Act are about to be published in their final form, and steps are being taken to constitute a number of Territorial Infantry battalions in addition to the University Training Corps. The response that is made to the appeal for recruits for this Territorial Force will be the measure of the genuineness of the demand to which you refer, and I confidently expect that it will be such as to ensure the success of the scheme, and to warrant an extension in the near future. I cannot speak at present about the probable results of the examination of Indian military requirements which is now being made by a committee of which the Commander-in-Chief is president and the Indian Members of Council as well as Indian representatives of the Legislative Assembly and of the Indian Army are members. As you know, the conclusions of this committee, after examination by my Government, will be laid before a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence in England, and we must await their conclusions.

Finally, the claim of Indians to hold commissions in other arms of His Majesty's military, naval, and air forces in India, a claim with which I am in complete sympathy, is now receiving our active attention. I think that I have said enough to satisfy you that these questions you have ventilated are receiving the earnest and sympathetic consideration of the Government of India, and that our proposals are based upon that very principle of truth relied upon by you. You have also referred to the concern with which you view the increase of civil as well as of military expenditure, and more especially the growing cost of establishments. I can assure you that this problem has caused my Government also the most anxious concern. On the one hand we have a deep sense of responsibility to the Indian taxpayer, and every desire to avoid increasing his burdens. On the other hand, we realise that high prices, high taxation, and the other economic results of the war, which have operated to create discontent among members of public services throughout the world, could not be expected to leave India unaffected. They have in fact caused serious uneasiness among the members, both British and Indian, of nearly all our services. This uneasiness was even more marked in the subordinate and ministering services than in the superior services, and we were assured by more than one local government that unless steps were taken to assuage it we would be risking a complete breakdown of the administration. It cannot be doubted that if you wish to

maintain the high traditions of efficiency and probity which have always distinguished the higher services, both Indian and British, in this country, you must be prepared to pay for them. I think you will agree with me that at this crisis in her history, India cannot be content with the second-rate, but if you want still to obtain the first-rate you must accept the view that it is essential to maintain the attractions of the services. Our difficulty, and it is a very real one, is to reconcile this urgent obligation with our responsibilities as trustees of the public purse. I must content myself to-day with assuring you that we shall continue to bear these responsibilities well in mind, and that my Government will not fail to examine your suggestions with the greatest care. You refer also to the control reserved in the reforms scheme to the Secretary of State over the branches of the superior public services which are serving in the provinces. You express the view that it detracts from the practical value of the reforms, to place this highly important subject beyond the control of provincial governments. You will, however, recognize, as practical men, that the apprehensions generally felt in the services regarding the uncertainty of their position under the new form of government were not unreasonable, and that it was deemed necessary to allay them by taking the course which is the subject of your criticism. With regard to the Press Act, the committee appointed by the Government of India to consider this Statute has now presented its report, which will be published within a day or two. Its recommendations are far-reaching, and have given personally great satisfaction. I have no doubt that they truly represent the general opinion of the country, and you may rest assured that they are receiving the most sympathetic consideration of my Government. With regard to your complaint as to the excessive amount of the financial contribution which the government of your provinces makes to the central government, you will not, I am sure, expect me to go into figures on the present occasion, but I would remind you that the amount was assessed not by the Government of India, but by an impartial committee, presided over by one of the most distinguished Lieutenant-Governors of your own provinces, who doubtless only arrived at their conclusions after they had taken into consideration all the factors so forcibly urged in your address.

I note with satisfaction your assertion that you are members of a political party which believes in constitutional action for political ends.

You seek self-government for India within the British Empire. I am here as His Majesty's representative to help you by constitutional means to attain it, but the pace will not be accelerated, nor the end reached, by lawless or unconstitutional action. On more than one occasion I have already expressed the determination of my Government to maintain order, to vindicate the law and to protect peaceful and law-abiding citizens. We should be false to our trust if we failed in this respect. Although we recognize this primary obligation upon us as a government, we are supremely conscious of our duty to ascertain the causes of the discontent of the people and to strive to our utmost capacity to remove legitimate grievances. There seems no difference of opinion between you and my Government in this respect. Now, generally speaking, in the remedies you suggest you advocate a steadfast endeavour by Government and their officers to substitute justice for prestige as the rule of conduct. I need not dilate upon the intense desire of my Government to do justice, but justice cannot be substituted for prestige, for the prestige of government must depend for its existence upon justice, which is the foundation of the influence and authority of government. But I am entirely in agreement with you if by this language you mean, as I understand you to convey, that Government and their officers must regard justice, and not the force behind government, as the guiding factor in their conclusions and in their actions. Again you seek to prevent oppression by subordinate officials who come into contact with the people in their daily lives. You will not need my assurance that we are here in complete accord, as also in your desire for the promotion of social and economic well-being. You are good enough to express your belief in my powers to solve these problems. I thank you for your confidence, but I become daily more conscious of the difficulties that confront my Government. It is essential to understand the complexities of the problem before the remedy can be devised or applied. Believe me, I am not so blind to daily events as some persons think and others would have you believe. I watch to the best of my ability the daily occurrences, and am well aware that incidents happen at times which are quite unjustifiable, and rouse the indignation that always follows upon injustice. Such acts are wholly unpardonable, either morally or politically, but I believe they are becoming rarer, and I trust will daily tend to disappear. You may rest assured that my attention is being directed to ascertaining and appreciating the differences in legal procedure and administration

applicable to Europeans and Indians. I do not desire to express myself more fully, inasmuch as I am not yet completely apprised of all factors, neither am I prepared at this moment to suggest the precise remedy. I am, however, fully conscious of the ground that demands and is receiving the most careful examination and consideration of government. Believe me, I am profoundly conscious of the necessity of impressing the public mind with my Government's earnest desire and determination to do even-handed justice as the basis of its political actions. I will ask you, however, to remember, if you find me to-day cautious in expression, that I have been here only three months, and that I should deeply deplore using language of promise which I could not in the future justify by action.

My last word to you is that notwithstanding conflicts, disturbances and agitations, I am convinced that we are daily making steady progress towards that fuller realization of responsibility which you have so much at heart. I thank you for the assurance that I can count upon the support and co-operation of your association, and of the political party of which it is the organized representative.

*Viceroy's Speech at a Banquet given in his honour
by the Maharajah of Kashmir at Srinagar on 27th October*

I am most grateful to Your Highness for the very kind terms in which you have proposed my health and that of Her Excellency, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have received the toast. This is my first visit to an Indian State, and it has been an experience which neither I nor Her Excellency are ever likely to forget. From the time when Your Highness, with your usual courtesy, met us on the road, up to the present moment, we have received nothing but the greatest kindness and consideration from Your Highness, your officials, and the people, and I would ask you to accept our most cordial thanks. Our entry into this city with Your Highness in the procession on the Jhelum presented a spectacle of picturesque beauty, which it will be difficult to surpass, but we were even more impressed by the cordiality of the reception which your people accorded to us, and I trust that I may accept it as an appreciation of the deep interest which the Government of India must always take in Your Highness, your State and your people. Amid all the beauty of this glorious country one is tempted to forget for a moment that there are such things as

poverty and sorrow, but even here life has not been without its shadows, and the shortage and abnormally high cost of the staple food grains in the city of Srinagar and elsewhere in Kashmir have caused very severe distress to the poorer classes of the people. The problem of reducing high prices, and of collecting and bringing the grain into the cities, is one of great difficulty and complexity, and, as Your Highness has said, the measures so far taken, though they have given temporary relief, have not provided a radical cure for the evil. Your Highness, with your long experience of Kashmir, has realised that the only remedy is the assumption by the State of complete control, and the appointment of an influential and competent board directly responsible to Your Highness, which will organize and co-ordinate the various agencies and departments to be employed in the acquisition, transport, and distribution of the staple food grains. These measures are the keystone of the scheme which Your Highness has decided to introduce and, as I have learnt this evening, has now actually introduced, and I congratulate you most warmly on coming to so wise a decision, and I congratulate your people on the beneficent effect it will have.

In General Raja Sir Harisingh as senior member of the Board, Your Highness has selected a man of commanding influence, wide experience, and strong personality, whose interests are bound up with yours and those of the people of this country, and the names of Mr. Glancy and Pandit Karendra Nath Koul will, I feel sure, command equal confidence. Their task will not be an easy one. There will be legislation to be undertaken in order to enforce the State control of the produce, to constitute summary courts and to prevent the holding up of stocks. Special tribunals will be needed also for settling the payment by instalments of debts due from the villages to the waddars, and special arrangements will have to be made for facilitating the transport of grain from the villages into the cities. In meeting these and other urgent requirements Your Highness should find in the Board of Control a most efficient instrument, and I am glad that you have decided to give them ample powers for dealing with the situation. I am sure that all wish them success in their high mission, and we hope and believe that the wise measures Your Highness has determined to introduce will lead to a final and happy solution of this most difficult problem. Her Highness the Maharanee has also, by her generous gift, shown her care and regard for the poor. Your Highness has also alluded to the recent inauguration of an Executive Council to assist

you in the administration of the State, and with instructions to devote themselves, as one of their first duties, to the framing of a scheme for a representative assembly. A High-court with three Judges is also about to be brought into being. These measures will, I am sure, have the effect of improving the administrative and judicial machinery of the State, and will have the advantage of associating the various communities of Jammu and Kashmir with the working of the State machine. I trust that the great decentralization in the work will afford a welcome relief to Your Highness, and conduce to the greater welfare and contentment of your people. I need not say that both in the working of these reforms, and also in dealing with State questions, Your Highness will always find in me, and in my Resident, a sincere friend, on whose advice and support you may confidently rely. As for Her Excellency and myself, and those who have had the good fortune to accompany us, the visit will always remain fresh in our memories as a lasting record of the charming delights of this country, and of the generous hospitality of Your Highness. I am very glad indeed that it is during my visit that Your Highness has decided upon the promulgation of measures which will render your name glorious in the annals of this State, and will cause you ever to be remembered with gratitude and affection by your people. Your Highness' action in respect of the State, taken at this moment when I am staying in your State, will itself permanently remain as the result of Your Highness' thoughtfulness and consideration, and solicitude for the welfare of your people. It is the poor who always stand most in need of the care of their ruler, and Your Highness has shown that you have their well-being uppermost in your mind. I will not dwell here on the services rendered by the Kashmir State in the Great War, since they have already been fully recognized and acknowledged both by the Government of India and by His Majesty the King-Emperor. I will only say that the Kashmir State was second to none in the efficiency of its troops, the generosity of its contributions, and above all, in the supply of fighting men to the armies which fought in the cause of justice and freedom. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will have an opportunity during his visit to Jammu of seeing some of Your Highness' troops, who did such valiant service at the frontier, and of conveying his congratulations to you personally. I wish that it were possible for His Highness to make a longer stay, but owing to his many engagements this is, I regret to say, impracticable. I shall, however, have much

pleasure in conveying your loyal message to His Royal Highness, and assuring him of a loyal and hearty welcome from Your Highness and your people on his visit to Jammu. It is now my pleasant task to propose the toast of our popular and distinguished host, His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir. Those of you who have spent your lives in Kashmir, or have been otherwise associated with His Highness in his daily life, will be able to speak more fully than I can of the many virtues which have made him beloved of his people and of all who have been brought into contact with him, virtues which have raised his State to the same level as that of the highest in the Indian Empire, and have earned for him personally the rank of Lieutenant-General and the Grand Commandership of the Star of India, the Indian Empire and the Order of the British Empire. I also, though my acquaintance with His Highness has been so short, have learned to appreciate his shrewdness, his kindness of heart and lavish generosity and above all, his deep-seated loyalty and devotion to the Crown and the British Government. I must add for myself and Her Excellency that the very cordial invitation of His Highness that we should again visit Kashmir and Jammu and stay at least four weeks is very tempting, and I trust that it may be possible for me to come here in response to His Highness' expressed desire. I ask you to join with me in drinking to the health of His Highness the Maharajah Sir Partap Singh Bahadur, Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, and in wishing him all happiness and prosperity.

*Speech at Delhi Viceregal Lodge in reply to a Deputation
of Punjab Chamber of Commerce on 26th November*

Mr. President and gentlemen, I thank you on behalf of Lady Reading as well as myself for the very cordial welcome you have tendered to us on taking up our residence in Delhi. I am equally grateful to you for the confidence in me expressed by your members. It encourages me in the handling of the difficult and delicate problems of administration in India, which perhaps were never of greater moment. I observe that in the very forefront of your address to-day you lay stress upon the loss of the privilege of independent representation in any of the legislatures of the country, and, in particular, you have referred to the question of your representation in the central and local legislatures. As you are aware, your views on this matter were laid last year before

the Reforms Commissioner (Sir William Marris) and were subsequently communicated by the Government of India to the Secretary of State. The rules, as finally passed by Parliament, did not, however, accord to you the increased representation for which you asked, and although I recognize that the grounds on which you have based your claim for a separate seat on the local Legislative Council are not without force, I cannot, in view of the pronouncement of the Joint Committee that the franchise as settled by the rules should not be altered for the first ten years, hold out to you any hopes of any early revision of the rules. At the same time I have no doubt that if and when the rules are revised, your claims for increased representation on the local Legislative Council will be fully considered. As regards representation on the Indian legislature, the position is different. Indian commerce is represented in the Assembly, and European commerce in the Council of State, and, as I think you will readily recognize, having regard to the limited membership of the Council of State, the three seats allotted by the rules are as many as could properly be provided. These seats have been assigned to the three chambers which admittedly represent the largest commercial interests, and, although your chamber is thus without separate representation in the Council, its position in this respect does not differ from that of the Madras Chamber of Commerce. I am glad, however, to have heard your views and am very conscious of the important interest represented by your chamber. I need scarcely assure you that I shall not fail to bear them in mind in all matters affecting trade and industry. I observe also that you lay stress upon the importance, in the interests of commercial development, of improving the communications of Delhi with as many seaports as is possible. I am entirely in accord with you, but, in the underlying significance of your references to the development of transport as an ancillary, sometimes a preliminary to the development of trade and sometimes a consequence of it, you concentrate your attention to-day upon the desired improvement of the connection of Delhi with Karachi with the object of obtaining a more direct broad-gauge railway connection between Delhi and Karachi. The Government of India fully recognize the great desirability of establishing such a connection between Karachi and the important trade centres of the United Provinces and Delhi. Various alternative routes for the western section of such a connection, up to Gungapur, have already been examined, and it is proposed to have the eastern section investigated during this cold weather.

The scheme, however, is an extensive one touching many interests and involving many issues of political and economic importance. Moreover, the financing of such a big project under existing conditions is a matter of considerable difficulty, when there are so many other important and pressing demands to be met. The materialization of the project as a whole will, therefore, take some time. The Government fully recognize the necessity for providing additional facilities on open lines for the movement of a greater volume of traffic than can now be dealt with, and the Railway Board are devoting their available funds chiefly to this end. Both the questions of new construction and of open-line improvements referred to by the Chamber are mainly matters of finance, and as the Chamber is aware, this subject has only recently been under examination by the Railway Committee, whose report is now before the Government and receiving most careful study and consideration. In my judgment, there is no subject affecting the commerce and prosperity of India which transcends in importance that of the improvement of railway communications. Your reference to the lack of suitable facilities for the supply of coal and the greater need of railway sidings, is only one, although a very important aspect, of this larger question. In this connection it is natural that you should lay stress upon the potentialities of water-power to reduce strain on the railways, and provide a cheaper industrial power. This subject has also engaged the attention of the Government of India. In 1918 the Government of India undertook a survey of the whole of India and Burma to investigate the possibilities of water-power, but since the introduction of the new constitutional reforms, water-power and electricity have been administered by the local Governments and are now beyond the control of the Government of India. It is, however, known to the Government of India that Colonel Batty, who is an expert in hydro-electric engineering, has prepared a project for the Sutlej scheme, and it is believed that he is now in America studying there some of the problems arising out of his investigation and acquiring a first-hand knowledge of up-to-date hydro-electric installations. The Government of India watch with the greatest interest the development of water-power, realizing as they do, on the investigations already made, the immediate possibilities in store, but the prosecution of such schemes now rests entirely with the local Governments. I am obliged to you for your appreciative reference to the import of wheat from abroad. Not only is my Government now obtaining from abroad all supplies of wheat required for the army in

India, but we have also done our best to arrange similar import on private account, while offering to permit the export of flour equal in weight to half the wheat actually brought in. In this way we have sought both to increase the food resources of the country and to assist the flour-milling industry. You may be interested to learn that 60,000 tons of privately imported wheat have already arrived, and that so far as my information goes, about 110,000 tons are to arrive during the course of the next five or six weeks. My Government is fully aware of the political importance of reasonably cheap food, and I rejoice to see that the autumn harvest, which in many parts of India is a bounteous one, has already done much to lower the prices of those grains which are reaped at the present season of this year. Wheat has been sown under very favourable conditions, and I hope that its price will soon show a similar reduction. Generally, I trust that the favourable monsoon will have the effect of reducing the price of food to the masses of the people and thus produce greater contentment.

I cannot part from you to-day without a brief reference to the political conditions of India at this moment. I shall not pause to analyse them, but you are an important commercial deputation and you are well aware that your interests both patriotic and individual lie in the direction of securing greater happiness and prosperity among the people. You desire this, not only for your own purposes as men of business, but from higher motives and a loftier aim—that is for the welfare of the people. For this purpose, if you wish to develop material prosperity and in that way to ensure tranquillity and contentment it is essential, indeed it is axiomatic, that order must be maintained, and that peace must be preserved. Without order there is no confidence, and there can be no material prosperity unless there is confidence in the security and tranquillity of the people. I wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon you that the Government of India will spare no effort to protect peaceful, law-abiding citizens, against violence, or coercion, or intimidation, or other breaches of law. I shall not dilate upon this subject, but there is to-day a natural and legitimate desire on the part of the vast majority of the people that the law should be respected and observed. I cannot but think that in some quarters there is a misconception of the position. The Government of India are very conscious of their power and their strength, and they have, I verily believe, the support of all law-abiding citizens of India. It cannot fairly be said that we have abused this power. Indeed, we are

sometimes criticized for not having sufficiently exerted it, and I readily admit that we have sought to avoid action which might either be misconceived or misrepresented as too severe, or as provocative, but recent events have made it imperative that the full strength of the Government, should, if necessary, be exerted for the purpose of vindicating the law and preserving order. In some quarters—I shall not designate them, they are too well-known—intimidation, and its consequent coercion—which is only another form of violence and is, of course, unlawful—were practised and, it must be said with considerable effect. This conduct cannot be permitted and must be stopped. Proper precautions will be adopted and all necessary steps taken to protect the peaceful citizen and to give him that security to which he is entitled, and to bring the wrong-doer to justice. The peaceful citizen wishes to carry on his own business, his own pursuits, his own avocations without improper interference or molestation by others with whom he may not be in agreement. We have no desire to interfere with the lawful activities of political parties, however opposed to us. But although that is our view, and although we are most anxious, as I have repeatedly said, to redress all legitimate grievances and to remove the grounds of popular discontent, yet we cannot allow any political activity to impose its will upon the country by violence, intimidation, coercion, or other unlawful means. I have, therefore, taken this opportunity of telling you what is, in this respect, in the minds of the Government of India, and of assuring you that the Government, of which I have no doubt you are keen critics, will use its efforts to ensure that every man may carry on his lawful pursuits in his own way, and at his own will, and you may rest satisfied that all necessary steps for this purpose will be taken.

There are many other aspects of the internal political situation, which are engaging the attention of the Government, but I have confined myself to-day to that aspect which must particularly affect you as members of a Chamber of Commerce.

MOSLEM ASPIRATIONS

*Replying to a Deputation from the Moslem Community
of Delhi on 30th November*

I thank you warmly for the welcome to Delhi you have kindly extended to me and Her Excellency, and for the opportunity

you have taken of presenting in emphatic but in courteous terms, the views which the Moslem community of Delhi, and His Majesty's Mussalman subjects in India, hold relating to the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. Ever since I became acquainted with India I have been impressed by the intensity of Mahomedan feeling in India regarding the terms of this Treaty. Immediately upon my appointment, the Secretary of State and I had lengthy discussions upon this most important subject. You are well aware that you have in him a very staunch and faithful supporter of Indian Moslem opinion. Throughout the various representations that have been made from India, to some of which you refer in your address to me, I noted at every turn how strenuously and devotedly my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, had laboured with the Secretary of State in the cause of Moslem India. Since my arrival here the subject has never been absent from my mind, and I have endeavoured, and with the invariable support of my Government, to impress your views upon His Majesty's Government, and to endorse them as fully as it lay in my power. There must always be great sympathy for those who seek to remedy what they conscientiously believe is an injustice to their religion, and this sympathy is never denied by the British, with their love of justice and complete freedom in religious matters, and I beg you not to think that the Indian Mahomedan representations, based upon their religious sentiments, have fallen on deaf ears. Indeed, a moment's reflection will prove the contrary, for the events of this year must be still fresh in the memory. I need only refer to-day to the deputation of Indian Moslems that waited upon the Prime Minister in London in the earlier part of the year, and to the modifications of the Treaty that were then favoured by him. You will also remember the proposals made at the London Conference to bring about a lasting and equitable peace. Had they been accepted they might not have satisfied all your wishes, but they would have constituted very important modifications in favour of Turkey. Unfortunately, hostilities were continued, and peace has even yet not been made between Turkey and Greece.

It is, I am afraid, no consolation to reflect that all this trouble has followed upon the unhappy entry of Turkey into the Great War, and I shall not dwell upon it. Neither shall I dwell on the loyalty and devotion of Indian Mahomedans during the War, and on their gallant services, save to observe that the Indian Mahomedans may justly pray [*sic*] these in aid, when seeking recognition of Indian Moslem opinion in the settlement. I note

with special satisfaction your appreciation of the past and present efforts of the Government of India to bring home to the British Cabinet the depth and intensity of the Mahomedan feeling aroused by the Turkish Treaty, and by the failure, up to the present moment, to bring its terms more into harmony with the sentiments of the Indian Moslem world. I am fully conscious of the responsibility that devolves upon me and my Government to continue to press your views upon His Majesty's Government, and to do my utmost to make them effective. I can assure you that the gratitude you express, indicative of your appreciation of our efforts in this respect, will be an encouragement to us in the future. Notwithstanding this recognition you, however, observe that the Government of India's efforts cannot be a source of comfort to Indian Mussalmans unless some effective result is obtained. This view has been presented to me on various occasions in many conversations I have had with leading Mahomedans, and I have felt the force of it. I sympathize with your sense of disappointment and wish I could completely relieve it, but although I cannot for obvious reasons make definite assertions regarding the results that may be achieved in the future, yet I feel that I should give you such indications as are open to me and which may, and I hope will, prove of assistance to you. You will understand that I am speaking of a complex international problem, which has still to be solved and that its solution does not rest with me or my Government, save in so far as the situation may be affected by our representations of your views, and powerfully endorsed by the Secretary of State in the British Cabinet. But, neither does the solution of the problem rest with Great Britain alone. If it did, the conflict would long since have terminated. The British Empire has every reason to wish for peace between Turkey and Greece. Britain's position has been that of strict neutrality, and in spite of malevolent rumour, I trust you will have no doubts upon this subject. She has always been ready to lend her good offices to bring about an end of the War. The attempts hitherto made have unhappily not yet produced definite results, but there are indications that the time is not far distant when the meeting to settle the terms of peace must take place. The peace His Majesty's Government desire is a fair and equitable peace, which will pay due regard to the religious sentiments of Moslems. You emphasize the objections of Indian Moslems in particular to the international control over Constantinople, the grant of Smyrna and Thrace to Greece, and the abolition of the religious suzerainty of the

Caliph over the holy places of Islam, and, it is, as I understand it, with the view of securing the modification of these terms of the Treaty of Sèvres that you have waited upon me to-day and presented this address. If I do not discuss these particular problems at any length let me assure you it is not for lack of sympathy. Your views, all that you have placed before me, will again be represented to His Majesty's Government. With the full authority of my Government I can assure you that I have already done my utmost to urge these modifications and have used, and shall use, such influence as I may possess to make them effective. But, I would ask you to remember that the Prime Minister, in answer to the deputation in London, and the Secretary of State in his telegram to Dr. Ansari, have already stated their views in favour of freeing Constantinople from the international control imposed after the War, and with a reservation as to the internationalization of the Straits, both in the interest of Turkey and of general peace. Again, and from the same source, it is apparent that His Majesty's Government have not failed to recognize the importance to Moslems of the religious suzerainty of the Caliph over the holy places of Islam. As regards Smyrna and Thrace, I do not think that your representations in this or in any respect are of no avail. They have already borne fruit, as I have shown you, and I trust that when the terms are eventually made you will find that the views of the Indian Moslems have played a greater part than perhaps you have hitherto imagined in fashioning the Treaty, and more especially in its relations to the religious sentiments and aspirations of Moslems. It may be that all you would wish cannot be achieved. There are difficulties upon which I shall not dwell, but which must be apparent to you and to all who are interested in this question. Whatever the results, you may rest assured, that not only have you and your fellow Moslems in India striven with intensity of conviction and religious fervour for the benefit of the Moslem religion, but you have certainly secured the sympathetic support of my Government. These continued representations by the Government of India have not failed, as I verily believe, to have effect upon the British Government. They might have acquired even a greater strength but for the agitation of extremists, who seem to labour under the delusion that revolutionary agitation will give better results than powerfully reasoned arguments, temperately but forcibly urged by the leading men of your community. Your congratulations on the successful conclusion of the negotiations with Afghanistan are very welcome.

We rejoice that, as a result of the negotiations, a treaty has been made with the independent Moslem kingdom of Afghanistan, based upon mutual good-will and friendship, which will, I trust, long endure and ever gain strength.

*Replying to the Address of the Bengal National Chamber
of Commerce on 8th December at Calcutta*

Mr. President and gentlemen : I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you and of receiving the address of welcome which you have been good enough to present to me. I always attach importance to a welcome from Chambers of Commerce, and from those who are engaged in commercial pursuits, more especially in the great trading centre of Calcutta with its famed port and river, with its ships coming and going on that river in constant succession, ever since the very early days when it was a very small place, very different from the Calcutta we now see. I attribute special value to an appreciation of the views of a commercial community both here and elsewhere. I have seen enough of trade, commerce and industry in my life, not in my own active pursuits, but in the studies that I have had to make of commercial and industrial problems, to realize how important they are to the material welfare of the community, and it requires but little knowledge of human nature to appreciate the value of material welfare upon the moral elevation of the community. And now, gentlemen, you express the wish that I may come to Calcutta every year. You may depend upon it that so far as it will rest within my powers I shall make every endeavour to return to Calcutta. I enjoy every moment of it whilst I am here, more especially because I have the advantage of being here during the cold weather, but its size, its broad streets, its importance in the history of India and in the prosperity of India at this moment would alone suffice to make Calcutta of the greatest attraction. So far as I can judge there are opportunities afforded me here which are not always available, and I esteem it a privilege that I shall, during my stay, find many means of coming in contact with your manufacturers, with your financiers, with your merchants, with your shipping industry, with that vast concourse of people who help to make the trade of the country, who are known as agents or intermediaries, and generally with all that aggregation of human beings who together establish the importance, from a commercial aspect,

of any city, and I thus look forward to making myself more closely acquainted with the business of this great city.

Although I shall not be able in the comparatively short space at my disposal to see all I could wish, you know that the anticipation of the realization of a wish is one of the hopes of human nature, and I look forward to visiting you again here. It may be that when I return, as indeed I have every reason to hope and believe, the Fiscal Commission will have finished its labours and will have reported. I do not propose in the faintest degree to speculate upon the results of the Fiscal Commission. It would be wrong if I did, and it would be unwise if I could. I await the report with confidence, realizing as I do, and as I hope you all do, that every attempt has been made by Government to select a body of fair-minded and impartial men who will bring all their wisdom and judgment to bear upon the problem, and who will seek, whatever their preconceived views may be, to arrive at the truth and to give the best advice to India, who understand that they are charged with a great responsibility, that you—as, indeed, commerce throughout India—will be looking to them to express their view, as the result of the evidence they will hear, of the best policy for India in the future. It is upon the consideration of that report that we shall have to frame our policy when it is represented, meanwhile we must await the result. You have referred to some observations that I made at an earlier stage upon the value of exports. But I expressed that which every student of economics must know is an axiomatic truth. It may not always be apparent on the surface, but it is one of those truths from which there can be no departure that the true test of the surplus wealth of any country will be found in its exports to other countries. I do not mean for one moment to underrate the enormous importance of the home market, but when you supply raw materials, your own machinery, your own railways, your own manufactures, in fact the whole market of your country, which is, no doubt, very desirable, should be encouraged in every possible way. The test of the surplus wealth of the country is in the products that are sent to other countries and which pay for them by other goods and services. But I may be tempted if I pursued this path to stray into a discussion of economics and fascinating as the subject is I must resist the temptation. We must, and, I suppose there can be no difference of opinion on this, concentrate attention upon developing the industries of India by extending manufactures in India, either by the use of raw materials produced in India or even raw

materials which may have to be imported into India. That there is opportunity for extending the industry of India I have not the faintest doubt. Indeed, all the attention that I have been able to give to the subject has only convinced me of the vast potentialities of India and its enormous resources if properly developed with the addition of capital that will be required and of knowledge which also may have to be an imported article, and which is none the less valuable, if it is imported. It will produce men capable of teaching here, also in other countries, and of spreading the knowledge acquired here. Meantime, the vital problem, as it has been impressed upon me from the study of conditions here in the development of industry, must be the extension and upkeep of your communications. It must be in the extension of railway facilities, of transport communications which inevitably either follow or create trade. It is upon these factors that I think attention must be concentrated. It will require much examination, much thought, and have the best wisdom and judgment of India devoted to it for our future in India—you will forgive me if I say "our" because I will not separate myself from you, my views and yours must be the same—our future here in Indian industrial development rests almost in the first instance upon our taking proper means to develop our railway and transport communications, and I do hope that when the subject is considered in the near future, as it must be, as a result of the report of the Railway Committee, that we shall realize that we must approach it prepared for larger developments, convinced that money properly spent upon railway development will be repaid in the increased prosperity and extended industries of the country. And now, gentlemen, I shall not enter the domains of politics, internal politics as distinct from commerce. You have been good enough in your address to spare me. You have made pertinent observations, I know how interested you all must be, but there are so many opportunities, some past, some in the immediate future, and many that will remain in the most remote future, when I shall have to express my views, and so I refrain from more to-day. In conclusion I am grateful to you for waiting upon me to-day with the address, for the good wishes you have expressed for Her Excellency as well as myself, and I trust that in the future when I may be coming here for the last time, you may in your language of to-day be able to feel assured that your good wishes and expressions of hope and confidence in the future of the new era in India have been justified. If so I shall indeed be fortunate. Gentlemen, I thank you.

*Reply to the Address of the British Indian Association
at Calcutta on 8th December*

Mr. President and gentlemen : I thank you warmly for the address which you have been good enough to present to me and which has just been read by the Maharaja Tagore. It is a source of gratification to me that you should have thought fit to wait upon me this morning in order to express the views so forcibly put in the address which has just been read. When I look at my programme during my short stay in Calcutta I find that the opportunities afforded me here, and of which I have been glad to avail myself of coming into contact with important associations, are both varied and numerous. In the ordinary course a Viceroy does not get the same opportunities as, let us say, a Prime Minister or Ministers at the head of great departments in England. Therefore, it is that I gladly take advantage of the opportunity of your address, and especially when presented by so influential and representative a gathering as I see before me this morning. Please do not think that I am intending to detain you at any length because of what I have just said. That would ill-requite you for your courtesy to me. But there are some observations that I would make in answer to your address. I cannot, however, allow the opportunity to escape me of expressing my warm appreciation of the far too generous references to myself personally in certain paragraphs of the address. You express there an appreciation of past services I have had the good fortune and privilege to render to my country which I should like to think are well deserved. You recall various passages of my life and in particular the service which I was privileged to assist in rendering to India when I was in America as British Ambassador. It seems strange now, when reflecting upon it, because at that time I had not the faintest idea that I should have the good fortune ever to visit India. I shall only say that I count it a happy circumstance that those events did take place. They caused me considerable activity at the time in America. I well remember, how from day to day, in accordance with the telegraphic reports I was receiving I watched the decline of your metallic reserve and saw the inevitable approach of assistance required to prevent inconvertibility. I am not going to detain you with a long story of the events of that period, save to say, as I think I have had already the opportunity of saying in another quarter when similar observations were made to me, that I have always felt most grateful to the American Administration and to

the American Congress, not only for its enormous assistance that they gave us, at the critical moment, but for the very generous response they made at a critical period. It is not easy to prevent Members of Parliament, or legislative councils or assemblies, or of the American Houses of Congress from making speeches. But as it was a time of war, of emergency, it is sufficient to say I do not think anybody, except the closest students of financial conditions at that time, knew what had happened or the reasons for the passing of that particular measure. I find special satisfaction in noting that you recall the language I used as the expression of my most earnest thought when I was addressing the English Bench and Bar in the position of Viceroy-designate and yet at the time still Lord Chief Justice of England. It was the very natural expression of my thoughts stated in the chair of justice in my own court, surrounded by all my brother judges of the court of appeal and the High Court addressing the Bar of England, in which I had passed so long a period of my life that I should have before me Justice, and that seated where I was I should wish it to accompany me to India.

British justice is one of the pillars upon which the British rule of India has always rested, and perhaps I should be emphasizing again that great principle of British administration, and it might be thought that the new precedent in the choice of a lawyer to come to India as Viceroy would be taken to mean that justice was not to have a less exalted position in the future of India than in the past. That you recall the language I used pleases me. That it should always be with me is but expressing my hopes for the development of India, and I trust the success of the administration over which I preside.

You refer also to the attitude which the Government of India has taken with reference to the status of Indians in British Dominions and possessions. Here again I have already expressed myself in plain language and I will content myself now with the observation that I am in complete sympathy with those who think that a British Indian subject of the King-Emperor, when he goes to the British dominions or possessions under the rule of this same King-Emperor, is entitled to carry with him the status of a British subject and to ask that this recognition should be given to him as it is given to those who actually reside there. I need not assure you that all the influence that I possess with the assistance of my colleagues in the Government will continue to be devoted to obtaining a proper recognition of this status so prized by Indians. You will have observed recent events in England,

you will have seen the result of the advocacy of our distinguished Indian representatives at the great conference, and the notable declaration which was made by the Imperial Conference as the result of these efforts.

You refer to the unusual stress and strain in India. I confess that when I contemplate the activities of a section of the community I find myself still, notwithstanding persistent study ever since I have been in India, puzzled and perplexed. I ask myself what purpose is served by a flagrant breach of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest. As I understand it, that is the position. If I am wrong I would gladly learn. But my appreciation of the position is not that persons are being arrested for breach of the law in some stress of passion or loss of control. It is the opposite. There are organized attempts to challenge the law. I will assume that those who advocate this course are actuated by earnest and good purpose. But what object can be served? What is to be the result of it? Is it thought that by challenging the authorities the Government must change its course? I do not pause to ask because this is a far wider subject, which I have not the opportunity of discussing with you this morning. But I do ask myself and you and any who may choose to read what I am saying, what benefit is served to India by these challenges? The authorities must enforce the law, otherwise the community ceases to exist as a civilized community. The authorities are bound to take notice of those who place themselves in defiance of the law, otherwise how can the law be enforced against others like the common criminal who seeks to enter your house or to the man who seeks to outrage your most sacred possessions? What answer can be made? The law is the same for all persons, and so long as the law exists it must be obeyed, and if it is publicly challenged there can be but one answer, however eminent, however distinguished, however earnest and sincere the person may be who has set to work to make the challenge. There are misguided people who think that a Government takes delight in arresting citizens. The very opposite of course is the case. The Government is happiest that has to make no arrest, certainly no arrest for political actions. For myself it fills me with regret every time that I hear that a citizen has been arrested who, through misguided effort, has come into conflict with the authorities. I find no satisfaction. On the contrary I do find great dissatisfaction, but let me add, that will not sway me or the Government which I represent one hair's breadth, from the policy which we have

mapped out. We must continue this, otherwise you will be entitled to say to those who are at the head of the administration of India, or of the provincial Government, that we are failing in the elementary duty of Government which is to preserve law and to see that the rights of others are respected. I have already said in the past and I repeat, lest my words be misinterpreted, that notwithstanding that we must enforce the law, there is no desire, I am quite sure, on the part of the Government of Bengal, and certainly there is none on the part of the Government of India, to stifle criticism, to prevent unfavourable comment or even to hinder opposition to government. There are recognized ways in which those who take different views may express them and may make them felt, and I shall be very sorry indeed if the time ever comes, which it certainly never could so long as I am at the head of affairs, in which there would be any attempt to stifle criticism or opposition of a legitimate and constitutional character. But when that is said it cannot be, if we are to proceed upon the path of law, that those who take a different view are to be permitted to enforce their will by unlawful means which never can be recognized as lawful in any civilized country, and all I desire to say to you to-day, gentlemen, conscious as I am and always must be of the responsibilities which devolve upon us who are entrusted with the administration of the affairs of this country, that I see the path very clearly marked out. We must pursue our own policy, doing what we conscientiously and honestly believe is right, whether it receives praise or whether it receives blame.

We naturally seek inspiration in a number of channels, and I find it my good fortune to be here in Calcutta, where there are so many points of contact with life not perhaps so open to me in other parts of India where I reside. I say nevertheless that while seeking inspiration from various sources throughout the empire of India, trying to understand public opinion, striving to give effect to it where possible, viewing all legitimate aspirations with sympathy and with the endeavour to be sensitive in response to the grievances of India, yet we must act as we think right. We have the advantage of criticism, the benefit of consultation with official and, let me add, a matter of considerable importance, with unofficial opinion, and so eventually we may understand the views, the feelings, the aims and the aspirations of the Indian people. We must preserve steadfastly before us that if we rise to high and lofty ideals, we shall best be serving the interests of India and we shall best be representing all that is highest in

Indian thought. I thank you, gentlemen, very warmly for your address and for your good wishes for the health and happiness of myself as well as Her Excellency. Together we have a burden to carry and I always find the greatest satisfaction in having her name associated with mine, because I verily believe that, if it should be my good fortune at the end of my period to look back upon some slight measure of success, I shall get more than my due share of the praise, for I shall know in my heart that my wife, who is always with me, was of the greatest help in making for that success.

Political Unrest. Proposed Round-Table Conference 21st Dec.

A deputation, consisting of various leading persons from different Provinces, presented an address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Belvedere to-day, reviewing the present political situation, and urging His Excellency to call a conference to make practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted. The deputation, which was headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, was composed of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy, Sir M. Visvesvarayya, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Mr. B. Chakravarti, Sir A. Chandhuri, Sir P. C. Roy, Mr. Lalji Narayanji, Syed Hossain Imam, Mr. Bhagat Ram, Moulvi A. K. Fuslul Huq, Mr. Chanasyamdas Birla, Moulvi Abdul Kasem, Mr. Iswar Saran, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Mr. H. N. Kunzru.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya read the address, which was as follows—

“May it please Your Excellency: We the members of this deputation, representing various shades of political opinion, feel grateful to Your Excellency for having accorded us permission to wait upon you to invite attention to the gravity of the present situation in the country, and to place before Your Excellency certain suggestions, which we believe, will prove helpful in improving it. It is unnecessary for us to refer here at any length to the root causes of the present unrest. During the period of the War, and at the end of it, the attitude of the people of India was one of cordial co-operation with the Government. It is undeniable that that happy state of affairs does not exist at present. The causes which have brought this change are too well-known to require repetition. While gratefully acknowledging what the Government have done to redress what are known as the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, we think it our duty

to invite Your Excellency's attention to the fact that there is a widespread feeling that all that should have been done has not yet been done. As to the question of Reforms. Your Excellency is aware that, while a large section of the people regard the measures which have been introduced as inadequate and unsatisfactory, and while another section have co-operated with the Government in working the Reforms, both are agreed in asking that Swaraj, or full responsible government, should be established as speedily as possible. Great has been the awakening among the masses during the last few years. They have begun to take an active interest in these public questions. Statesmanship demands, if we may venture to say so, that a large-hearted effort should be made to understand clearly, and as far as possible, to meet the wishes of the people in respect of problems which are deeply agitating the public mind. The agitation that has been carried on with a view to securing a redress of these grievances, has lately assumed an acute phase. We deeply regret that this has coincided with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and that it has marred the national welcome. In these circumstances, we believe, we are voicing the opinion of large sections of the population when we urge that Your Excellency should be pleased to invite the leading representatives of the people to a conference under your lordship, to take counsel together, and make practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted. Should our prayer commend itself to Your Excellency, we doubt not that the conference will be truly representative of all shades of opinion, and in particular of the masses of the population whose well-being is intimately bound up with a permanent solution of the political, economic and other difficulties and disadvantages to which they are exposed at present. With mutual forbearance and goodwill, we firmly believe that it is possible to find such a solution, and to replace the present unrest by peace and harmony based on a guarantee of ordered healthy national progress. In the meanwhile, it seems imperative that the various notifications and proclamations issued under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, and the Seditious Meetings Act, which have stirred up so much feeling and unrest in the country, should be withdrawn, and all persons imprisoned as a result of their operation, immediately released. Whatever our present difficulties may be, a considerable section of the public are anxious that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should be received with the respect due to his exalted position. We have every hope that the

measures we recommend will help largely in allaying public irritation, and in restoring confidence and goodwill among all sections of the population. There is a very widespread feeling among the thinking sections of the people that the Government should avail themselves of this great opportunity for bringing about a satisfactory solution, in concert with the representatives of the people, of the principal difficulties which have arisen. A solution of the situation, which may be easy of accomplishment to-day, will become much more difficult should the present tension continue, and increase, and as we fear, precipitate matters to a crisis. We earnestly hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to give your most careful consideration to the recommendations we have submitted, and that you will meet the situation in a generous spirit of broad-minded sympathy and conciliation.

The Viceroy's Reply

Pandit Malaviya, Mrs. Besant and gentlemen: When I was informed that a deputation of representatives of various shades of political opinion wished to wait upon me for the purpose of placing their views on the situation and suggestions for allaying the present unrest, I gladly assented, and I am pleased to receive you here to-day for I know that you have come with one object only, that is, to do what you conceive to be the best in the interests of your country and to promote its welfare. I am perfectly sure that you are actuated solely by disinterested motives. I have had the pleasure of meeting nearly all of you before to-day—and I do not, I assure you, underrate the importance and the influence of those who are present here this morning. The immediate purpose of your representation is that I should invite the leading representatives of all shades of political opinion to a conference, in your words, to take counsel together and consider practical suggestions and recommendations concerning the remedies which should be adopted, and you recommend, indeed, that the notifications and proclamations recently issued by the Government should be withdrawn and all persons imprisoned as the result of their operations immediately released. I can scarcely conceive that you have intended to present to me such recommendations without having in your minds, as a necessary corollary, the equally imperative necessity for the discontinuance of those activities which have led Government to adopt the measures now forming the subject of discussion. I do not propose to discuss those measures but I will assume that

they form the subject, as I know, of acute controversy. They were adopted by Government with the object of giving protection to law-abiding citizens, particularly here in Calcutta and in other parts of India. I have already said it was not a new policy, it was the application of the policy which lies at the very root of all civilized government, i.e. the maintenance of law and the preservation of order, but, nevertheless, I will assume as your language indicates, that there are considerable doubts as to this policy, and that differences of opinion exist as to the necessity, or the advisability, of the measures taken. The opinions of Governments are formed upon a general presentation of facts. They cannot be lightly arrived at and they necessarily are the opinions of persons to whom great positions of trust and responsibility have been confided. I mention this, not that you should be asked to accept the dictum of the Government, but merely for the purpose of emphasizing to you the reason for this policy. The tenor of your address implies your recognition, in which I cordially agree, of the need of a calm and serene atmosphere for a conference. Indeed, in my judgment, it is impossible even to consider the convening of a conference if agitation, in open and avowed defiance of the law, is meanwhile to be continued. Unfortunately I look in vain in your address for any indication that these activities will cease. I fully understand that none of you is in a position to give an assurance to this effect, for none of you have been authorized to make it. I hope that I shall not be misinterpreted. I am not suggesting any reproach to anyone concerned. All I mean is that whatever hopes may have been entertained have not been realized, and that, therefore, when we are meeting to-day, necessarily rather hurriedly in view of the circumstances, the assurance for which I confess I had been looking, as a necessary part of this discussion is not forthcoming. I quite appreciate that there may have been difficulties in the brief time allowed and also in the great distances separating us. I do not know from the address presented to me what view is taken by the leaders who are responsible for non-co-operation activities, in the sense that I find no assurance from them that these activities will cease if a conference were to be convened. I am asked, without such an assurance, to withdraw Government measures called into operation by Government under an existing law for the protection of law-abiding citizens and to release those arrested for defying this law. I cannot believe that this was the intention of the deputation when originally suggested, for it would mean that throughout the country intimidation, and

unlawful oppression, and other unlawful acts should be allowed to continue whilst Government action to maintain order and protect the law-abiding citizen would be largely paralyzed. I need scarcely tell you that no responsible Government could even contemplate the acceptance of such a state of public affairs, neither can I really believe that you ever intended it, for it would suggest that Government should abandon one of its primary functions.

I have no doubt that most of you came under the same impression as myself when I intimated, in reply to a request from Pandit Malaviya that I would willingly receive this deputation. It is very necessary that I should make plain that all discussion between myself and Pandit Malaviya, preliminary to this deputation, proceeded upon the basis of a genuine attempt, I believe a disinterested and honourable attempt, to solve the problems of unrest by means of discussion and consideration at a conference, and that meanwhile there should be a cessation of activities on both sides, of unlawful operation on the part of the non-co-operationists, and of the Government prosecutions and imprisonments. I wish it had been possible to consider the convening of a conference in the same atmosphere as characterized the discussions between Pandit Malaviya and myself. I would wish nothing better and nothing more conducive to beneficial results and more in accordance with patriotism. Let me add, speaking not only for myself but also for all of the members of my Executive Council whom I have naturally consulted upon the situation that has arisen, nothing is further from our wishes than the arrests and imprisonment of citizens, more particularly citizens of reputation or the sons of men of high honour and reputation in the country, whose emotions have led them into conflict with the law. I do not hesitate to add that I hate this making of numerous arrests and prosecutions, but, nevertheless, so long as there is open defiance of the law, Government has no other course. There may be discussions about measures. I can quite conceive that men in high position and understanding in public affairs may wish to make representations to a Government upon a particular measure, or that in the Legislative Assembly steps may be taken for the purpose of calling attention to it. I understand that the wisdom and judgment of Government or of a particular Government, may be brought under consideration; all that is possible. What I cannot understand and cannot conceive is that the Indian—I am now speaking of parties, I am not speaking of creeds or of races

—but that the Indian is opposed to the proper maintenance of law and to the preservation of order. I won't recapitulate the conditions that have led throughout the various provinces of India to the action taken by the Government. Indeed here in Calcutta, the facts are too well-known to require repetition, particularly after the pronouncement of His Excellency the Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on Monday last. May I observe now that I am not suggesting that there can be no excesses by those entrusted with authority, some may have occurred; it is very rarely that in such a condition of affairs as existed here, some excesses may not have happened. All that can be said has already been said by His Excellency the Governor. It is that every precaution will be taken to prevent a recurrence, and that every attempt will be made to ensure a proper enquiry, and that proper steps are taken as the result. I wish with all my heart that it had been possible to deal with these problems in a large and generous spirit, worthy of such an occasion in the history of India. Had there been indications to this effect before me to-day in the representations which you have made in your address on the part of the leaders of non-co-operation; had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for the discussion of the remedies suggested, my Government would never have been backward in response. We would have been prepared to consider the new situation in the same large and generous spirit, and I would have conferred with the local governments for this purpose. I should have wished—and I know that I speak not only my own thoughts but those of Pandit Malaviya in this respect—that if such conditions had supervened, no advantage or triumph should be claimed on either side and no reproach should be made by the one to the other of having been forced to yield or not having the courage to proceed with its campaign. I should have wished to see a new spirit introduced in this respect. I do not stand alone in addressing you. I believe that if you were to give expression to your views, you would all agree with me that a new spirit should be created for the purpose of considering a conference, in different circumstances and with higher force. I deeply regret that these are not the present conditions, and the discussion which I thought was to have proceeded on the high-level of a patriotic desire by temporary mutual concession and forbearance, to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, takes the form, in its present aspect, of a request to the Government to abandon its

action without any guarantee that the action which has led, or, as we believe, forced the Government to take such action would also cease. Therefore, it is that to a request conveyed to me even by so influential and authoritative a deputation as yourselves to call a conference, coupled as it is with the two conditions of the revocation of the law and the release of all the prisoners, the answer I must make, is, that I cannot comply with the request. Those are the conditions presented to me. Here again I speak not only my own views, but those of those associated with me in the Government of India, who unanimously have arrived at the same conclusion in conference with me. But I should be sorry indeed if any observations I have made could be construed into a refusal for all time to consider the convening of a conference. Certainly I have not intended by the language I have used to convey that meaning to you. I have too great a regard for the value of discussion and for the consideration of suggestions and recommendations that may be made. I am not one of those who think that all wisdom is to be found in those who happen to be in positions of authority. I have had too great an experience of life not to appreciate that advantage may be derived from discussion and consultation with others who see from different angles, and who may have views to put forward which had not occurred to us. But I can only act at the moment in view of the present existing circumstances as they stand.

For the reasons that I have given you I must express my great regret that the essential conditions for peace are not forthcoming. Before I part from you I cannot refrain from making some brief observations on the statements in your address. I do not propose to go through them, but you refer to the action that the Government has taken in relation to the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. I acknowledge your expressions with regard to them. You state that the Government has not yet done all that it is thought should have been done. That, of course, is a legitimate view, and one with which I don't quarrel. But may I ask you momentarily to pause and think with regard to these matters? Are these really the causes of the present condition of affairs? Ever since I have been here, and frequently as a result of consultation with those of great influence who do not represent the Government, I have taken steps to meet the views presented to me in respect of the Punjab wrongs. That we have not been able to go to the full length I readily admit. I am perfectly aware of the desire on the part of many that more should be done, not only from my reading, but from interviews

when recommendations have been very forcibly presented to me. I have not accepted them because I have thought that I could not conscientiously give effect to them. With regard to the Khilafat, what action is it suggested the Government of India should take? We have done everything possible. I am not speaking only of my Government. I refer also to that of my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford. You are well aware that he also made the strongest representations to His Majesty's Government at home. There are some present, particularly I see one, who were with the deputation that went home to the Prime Minister. What is the fault alleged against the Government of India in this respect? Where do we fail? I won't pursue the subject, but I make these observations for your consideration. One further word upon the reforms. Let us see how we stand, because as I understand it, the view presented is that in the main it is the desire that Swaraj, complete Swaraj (full self-government) should be given as speedily as possible. The history is so well-known to you that I only recall to you the one fact, that the Legislatures have only begun to function this very year, and the demand is for a more extended or for complete Swaraj. Let us examine the facts. Not only have the reforms been granted, but they are actually in operation. It cannot yet be said that they have been completely tested, and although I can sympathize with the views of those who desire that in the future, as soon as it can be properly and safely done, there should be extension, surely there is not sufficient reason in this respect for an acute crisis, as is suggested in your address. But I won't analyze further, I would ask you who represent various shades of opinion to consider the present situation. I have already told you of my Government's dislike of arrests and imprisonments. I know that you yourselves have strong feelings upon the subject. You tell me in the address that we are proceeding to an acute crisis. It may be that we may have a more disturbed condition of affairs than at present. If the law is defied, whatever the reason, all the incidents that unfortunately accompany a challenge of law, may quickly follow. I appeal to you to observe the conditions to-day and in the future and urge that we should all seek a high level above party or political advantages, otherwise we shall all be failing in our duty to India.

I remind you that whatever reforms may be desired in the present constitutional system, they can only come through the British Parliament. The only constitutional method, the only peaceful solution is by the British Parliament amending the

Government of India Act. Therefore, it is so important that a proper impression should be made upon the British Parliament and the British people who are represented by that Parliament, for the vast majority of the population in India are loyal to the Crown whatever their views may be about other political controversies. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will arrive in Calcutta within the next three days. He has nothing to do with the political controversies that are agitating us at the moment. Yet every attempt is being made to prevent the success of his visit. I shall not discuss or characterize those attempts. But I must utter the warning that every man who lends himself to an affront to the Prince of Wales is doing incalculable injury to India and her fortunes in the future. We hold his Royal Highness in deep affection and admiration. Apart altogether from the personal aspect an affront to the Heir Apparent, when he comes to India to make acquaintance with India, is an affront to the British people, for the Crown with us is beloved by the people, and when I remind you that it is from those British people that any amendment must come to alter the constitutional system of India, I trust I shall have shown how necessary it is to cultivate good relations between the British Parliament and our Legislature here; between the British and the Indian peoples. Let me leave you with this last appeal that we may together, each in his way, continue, notwithstanding apparent discouragement, to try to maintain a high level for the good of India. If we do, there will not only be no insuperable obstacle, but I believe it would be possible to arrive at conditions of peace and tranquillity. Notwithstanding that we have not been able to arrive to-day at the result you wished, I trust that we shall have established relations or continued them, because they already exist in many cases; whereby we may still work together—with a belief in each other, notwithstanding that we may differ in opinion, for the welfare of India and India's people.

The Turkish Peace. 22nd December

A deputation of prominent Bengal Mahomedans waited upon the Viceroy to-day at Calcutta to represent to him Moslem feeling regarding the Turkish peace terms. They said that in view of India's great war services, particularly those of Moslems, they felt they had a right to demand from the Government reconsideration of the Turkish question in accordance with the

principles of fair play and justice, and appealed to His Excellency to make a strenuous effort to bring about a satisfactory solution of the question, while thanking him and the Government of India for the keen and active interest they had taken in the subject.

The Viceroy, in reply, assured the deputation that he fully realized the strength of Mahomedan feeling on the subject, which had his great sympathy, and from his first association with India he had wished to bring about a settlement which would really satisfy the Mahomedans. The British Government had been left in no doubt as to the views of Indian Mahomedans, and, he assured the deputation, the Government of India would continue to insist, by every means in their power, upon the strength of their feelings. The Viceroy said his impression was that Mahomedans felt that they had the sympathy and support of the Government of India; but they did not feel that this was bringing about the results they desired in the modification of the Treaty. He asked the deputation not to come too lightly to that conclusion. The representations of the Government of India were having, he hoped and believed, more effect than they were perhaps aware of. It was not possible publicly to discuss the situation in such an international matter, but he could give them a ray of hope, namely, that he had heard from the Secretary of State within the last few days that many of the representations which he and his Government had made, were having good effect, and that he had reason to hope they would prove successful in bringing about a satisfactory settlement with Turkey at an early date. That was the situation, and he could only hope that peace would soon come. He asked the deputation to bear in mind, that if the result were not immediately visible, nevertheless the views of Indian Mahomedans were having more effect than they realized. He did not want to lead them to the conclusion that they would obtain all they had put forward. He wished they could, and he would certainly help all in his power. What he meant was that he believed the conclusion would be very different from that of 1920, and they would find, even if they did not obtain all they asked, that they had gained very substantially.

In conclusion, the Viceroy assured the deputation that nothing was further from the truth than the view that the British Government was hostile to Islam. To treat religion apart from politics was a standing principle of the British Government.

*Speech at the Dinner at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta
on 7th December*

Sir Benode Mitter and Gentlemen: It was a happy thought on your part to invite me here to-night to dinner and give me an opportunity of meeting you all and listening to the speech which has just been made. At an early stage Sir Benode recalled to my mind a passage in my life which is somewhat obscure, and indeed which I thought was little known, when he referred to my first visit to Calcutta, coupling it up by mentioning this being my second visit. I shall not be tempted to stray into early days. There are places which I recall in Calcutta in those days, so many years ago, of which you were almost unkind enough to remind me, but you had to do it, and although it revives the association of ideas when I go to these places that are marked out, there is little to be said about this visit of mine in my younger days, and when I was not invited to a dinner such as this. But I esteem it a real pleasure to find myself here in Calcutta in this great city, with all its charm and fascination, with its history, with its memories, its great traditions, and I tried to live over some of those days again in refreshing my mind from books and chronicles that now exist of the old days in Calcutta and then to compare them with the present. It is difficult indeed to realize that Calcutta, of which one reads in the old days, is the wonderful city, in which one now travels in these days in motor cars with electric lights.

You, Sir, referred to Lord Sinha. I cannot but express again my sense of very deep loss in the resignation of Lord Sinha from the position he both adorned and distinguished. In eloquent terms you have travelled rapidly through his record and recalled a number of events which distinguished and, ever must distinguish his career. It would be difficult to add to the striking tribute that was paid to him in the telegram which I was privileged to send from the Secretary of State, giving a message from His Majesty the King and expressing his own deep sense of loss, as did also the Secretary of State and myself and, may I add also, of my colleagues. I hope, as I am sure you all do, that it will not be long before Lord Sinha will be restored to health. There are of course great trials in high office. There are important decisions to make, there are difficult matters to determine, and life is not altogether easy for those who have undertaken the burden, and certainly as Lord Sinha did, because he thought it was his patriotic duty to do it. If I may follow you, Sir Benode, in

part of your discourse, I will come now to the Prince of Wales's visit. You will have, on the 24th December, an opportunity of welcoming him, who is to us and to you a great national and imperial asset, one who has travelled through His Majesty's Dominions and now comes to this great Empire of India with no thought in his mind but that of becoming acquainted with you and with India, with no hope of intervening in politics. Indeed, he must be a poor student of British modern history who fails to realize that both the King and the Prince of Wales stand outside altogether from party politics. I trust Calcutta will be true to her reputation.

No one could ask more and, indeed, no subject could desire a more enthusiastic welcome than the traditions and memories of Calcutta would assure for the heir-apparent to the throne. I will not refer to the scenes and deplorable events that took place in Bombay on the same day as the most magnificent reception was recorded to the Prince of Wales. I will only say I cannot conceive that any of those who studied the events of those days at Bombay would wish again to try to repeat them in Calcutta, but would content themselves, if they do not desire to be present, with abstaining from attending any celebration. I cannot, as I stand here at this moment, refrain from saying to you what has passed through my thoughts in connection with this visit. In my early youth I read a book, which some of you may have remembered—we used to read it in our schools—and there was a rather caustic old curmudgeon who had the habit of saying, whenever any question was raised or discussed, and whenever feelings went very high—"Put yourself in his place." This made a great impression on me in my youth, and I have never forgotten it and even now, as I address you, I tried to put myself in the place of those who are seeking, by means they may choose, to spoil the reception which the vast majority of the citizens of Calcutta will give the Prince, and I cannot but ask myself what good purpose is served? I do not wish to use one single word which would exasperate feelings, which no doubt run high in certain circles. I don't wish to travel into history or into the politics of the non-co-operation movement, but I will try to put myself in the place of those who have some desire not to participate in the reception. I ask myself, assuming that I believe in the connection between the British Throne and the Empire of India, assuming that I am working hard with a desire to participate in the grant of full Swaraj, assuming further that all that is put forward as the aims and ambitions are honestly

and sincerely meant, assuming all that for the purpose for which I am now speaking, I still put to myself the question, what good purpose will it serve? And I strive to think what might be the result. Supposing that the idea is to gain Swaraj earlier, there are many others who are working patiently for it. I should have thought there never was a better opportunity than at this moment, when it is known that the eyes not only of Great Britain but also of the British Dominions must be concentrated upon India on the reception which is to be given to the Prince of Wales. What grander opportunity could there be for him who desires Swaraj, and who is assured as all have been assured in this country, that no political advantage is sought to be obtained or would be gained, by a most hearty and enthusiastic reception to the Prince, what grander opportunity can you have than to say here, for this moment, with knowledge that all political controversies are buried and they have no significance in the Prince of Wales' visit, than for us to show that we are fit to obtain that Swaraj, which, after all, can only come from the British Parliament, unless it is to be won by the sword, and then to say as it might have been said, "We in India have different views. Of the large majority of people, we, who call ourselves non-co-operationists are out to oppose the Government, but nevertheless, we see this opportunity of showing that we are loyal to the Crown because that is the only test which is imposed by the Prince of Wales' visit, and in that way we will prove to the British Dominions and the British people, and we will establish to the British Parliament that we are much better fitted to be entrusted with complete self-government than perhaps they might think from the disturbances which have been created and the cries that have resounded."

I only express my own views in the way in which they strike me if I really wanted to establish that I was fit to receive from the British Parliament that Swaraj which the King has promised shall be. I will not go into any discussion as to what may happen, neither will I repeat any part of the observations I have already made about the enforcement of law and order. To reiterate them will really add nothing. They represent the settled policy of the Government of India just as I understand Lord Ronaldshay's statement represents the settled policy of the Government of Bengal. Certainly it gives no pleasure to any Government to have to arrest citizens either for acts, or violent speeches, or breaches of law. The object of the Government is the very opposite. It does not want to arrest; it wants to avoid

arrest, but it is indispensable that the Government should take proper steps in order that law-abiding citizens may be well assured of the protection which they are entitled to demand from the Government and which they must have.

My mind in addressing this distinguished assembly was curiously enough not in India, but it was full of a country which is far from India. I am thinking that I deem it an auspicious moment that I should be dining with you to-night on the very day when it was announced that a settlement had been arrived at on the Sinn Fein question. I will not at this moment tell you more about it than has already appeared in the newspapers. It will gradually be published—no doubt by to-morrow morning—and you will know all about it. But this we do know, that the King has already telegraphed to the Prime Minister expressing his great satisfaction at that which he describes as a spirit of patience and conciliation, and congratulating the Prime Minister on the result of his and the Government's efforts, and characteristically, with the modesty of the King, adding he is grateful for the small part he was enabled to play by the speech he made at Belfast. You may ask what lesson is to be learnt.

I can look back on a life spent politically largely in attempting to obtain the very self-government for Ireland which has now been granted. I only want to put forward the reason that carries me back a number of years and of course, there unfolds before me a long record of controversy, a very bitter controversy. Ireland for centuries has been a disturbing influence with us. You are all aware of the difficulties that existed with Ireland, certainly within the last thirty or forty years. It has not been so much with the British people as with two sections of the Irish people, that made it so very difficult to bring about a settlement. But think of the difference between Ireland and India. Ireland has attained this result after long, long years; India, without any of the acts which have characterized the history of the movement in Ireland, attained a tremendous boon in the grant of reforms which took her already far away upon the road to that complete Swaraj which we all want. Again, India has before it, by ordinary constitutional means, by labours, by efforts of those who are in the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State for India and in the Legislative Councils of Provinces, an opportunity, of which they have been very quick to avail themselves, of proving they are people who would soon be ready for that full grant of self-government. I would, however, just ask you to pause for one moment and look over the vista of events,

remembering the history of the years that have passed before any country has attained what India has obtained peacefully, in the sense that she had not to strive or to make a revolution, but she gained it as the natural result of the assistance she gave in the War and the loyalty and devotion which she then showed to the Crown ; and, after all, events move rapidly nowadays.

The event of to-day is, almost as it is chronicled, submerged under the weight of anticipation for the morrow. We do not stop to think too long nowadays. We strive to march too fast. But I suppose that if there is one quality which stands out among those which go to mark statesmanship, it is that of patience. Patience is one of the greatest political powers. It is not perhaps the most brilliant, for example, but nevertheless, it attains more than any other quality, and, if I were in India trying again to put myself into another man's place, I think that the thoughts that would be in my mind, striving with all my capacity to be quite fair and impartial in my views, I should say what a wonderful position my country holds at this moment here, having already taken a very great place in the councils of the British Empire. I will not recall all the various events in which India has played her part. As I speak to you I see the picture of India represented at the table at which we sat at the Imperial War Cabinet, with her representatives from here and by the Secretary of State, taking her part, like other Dominions in the work that was then engaging the attention of the War Cabinet. You know again how India at the table of the League of Nations and at the table of the signatories to the Peace, was represented and took a very great part. I would say to myself, what a future ! You have travelled far in a very short space of time, because you will all probably agree that twenty years ago, to go no further, it would not have been thought possible to have achieved so much in the years from 1918-1921, and I would again say, what a future ! I would then recall His Majesty's language at the opening of your new Chamber, and I would ask myself whether any steps that could be taken, whether any movement that could be engineered, could possibly procure for India a greater or a higher destiny than that of a partner amongst the commonwealth of nations which we designate by the term of the British Empire, forming one with the great Dominions, taking her part with them, sitting with them in the Councils, all honouring one King-Emperor, the one link that binds them together and is the symbol of attachment of all these nations. Do not let us believe that the King rules merely by virtue of inheritance. The King

stands where he does at the head of this great commonwealth because of his own personality. In the traditions which we are now accustomed to associate with our King, he represents the highest and noblest ideals of the British people throughout the world—and it is that which is symbolized in the Crown of England. It is that which makes us look to the King, apart from his great personality. It is that which we mean when we speak of the King as the head, as the ruler of all these Dominions. It is because it rests upon the people's will, it rests upon their aims and aspirations, and it represents to them in one illustrious personality that which is best and which is collected from among every one of us. Yet, again, it is to the son of that King who acts up to the same traditions, young as he is, that you will have the opportunity of extending your friendly and loyal greetings. Do not think, I beg of you, so much for the man, because there is the attractive and charming personality which wins its aims in that way regardless of the position he occupies. Nevertheless, it symbolizes what I believe is at the heart of all Indians, the noble ideals of liberty and justice. It is that for which the Crown of England and all India stands. Justice is the tradition upon which the British connection with India stands. It is that connection which has given it value amongst you in the main. I truly recognize that there have been, of course, faults and mistakes. Nevertheless, the British genius, the mind of the British people even from the comparatively uneducated to those who have the highest culture, worships justice as the most Divine gift that can be bestowed on the human race, and with it is that liberty which again you in India seek, and we in England desire to hold before us as a shining light to which we ever turn and which we strive to get close to. It is that liberty—which consists not in enforcing your will on that of others by whatever means you may seek. It is that liberty which does not consist in saying that others must do as you wish. That is the very opposite of liberty; that is tyranny. Liberty consists in doing that which you wish consistently with your regard for the rights of others, and that, consequently, means for the laws of your country which are there for the protection of its citizens. I have spoken to you of thoughts that are uppermost in my mind, not merely for the audience as I stand at this table, but of thoughts that are with me, and naturally must be with me, day and night. They are thoughts that are with one who finds himself in the position of Viceroy of India, with all its burdens, responsibilities and anxieties, and who would find it impossible

to continue the duties that devolve upon him were it not that there is always the hope, the conviction that, as the years roll by, India will rise and attain a higher place, for the disturbances and controversies of the moment will disappear in the course of years. Years do not count when you are striving onward towards the great goal which is to be an epoch in your history, and, therefore, I say to you that I am convinced that India is not only well on the road to that goal, but she is gradually preparing herself for the attainments of her aims. As the years go by it will become more and more established that India will seek to be one of that great combination of nations to which I referred, when she will have her place as a full partner in the Empire with the rest of the British Dominions. You may depend on it that in looking back to the Declaration of August, 1917, and all that has happened since, India will say, "Marvellous it is that within so short a space of time we have attained so noble an aim." With that conviction I say to you, as I said before in other assemblies, and as I am never tired of saying, and trust that I shall never fail to say to all who have the interest of India at heart and all who care about the destiny of India. Do not allow your minds to be obscured by small differences which so often arise in the course of transitional periods of constitutional developments, but to keep your minds and visions fixed always on the great temple which is at the end of the road, which is there for them to travel and which has a light that shines in it for them to look at and for them to reach, the attainment of which lies entirely within their grasp if only they are content to strive to attain it.

1922. 2ND JANUARY

Viceroy's Speech at State Banquet, Bikaner

I thank Your Highness very warmly for the welcome you have given to Her Excellency and to me, and for the efforts you have made to make our stay as agreeable as possible. You have treasured the opportunities of giving this welcome to other Viceroys. The welcome to us on this occasion is worthy of a Prince of India. It is princely in generous hospitality, but even more attractive is the princely character of the generous courtesy and consideration which leads you to think day by day, and almost hour by hour, of the pleasures that you may be able to offer not only to Her Excellency and to me, but to the rest of your guests.

Hospitality, and the dispensing of it, are perhaps greater tests than are generally recognized. Hospitality does not merely consist, as you so well recognize, in entertainment on a sumptuous scale. True hospitality consists, as is so well understood here in the East, in that sensitiveness of response to the thoughts passing through the minds of your honoured guests, which leads you to give effect by the swiftest and most successful means to their wishes. I realize that this hospitality is to me as Viceroy, His Majesty's Representative, and that you, the Ruler of this State, find it a pleasure, may I say a privilege to entertain the King's representative. If only on that ground, I should be glad to have been your guest, but there is also a personal note reflected in your observations, which found a full and echoing response in my mind. Not only are you entertaining me as Viceroy, but also as a former colleague in the Imperial War Cabinet. I rejoice then to note that India, and India's States were represented in that important assembly. When again we met throughout the anxious periods of the Peace Conference, we lived in the same establishment, and were in the habit of frequent converse and intercourse, I learned to value, not only the sagacity, but the broad outlook and the wise judgment of His Highness. There were sown the seeds of a ripper friendship, which found its response in one of the first messages sent to me from India when I was appointed Viceroy. It came from His Highness, full of thoughtful wishes for success and of realizations of responsibilities. It has been my good fortune again to meet His Highness as

Chancellor at the Chamber of Princes, where I had the duty, and let me say also the privilege, to preside. I saw him re-elected as Chancellor, notwithstanding his protestations on the ground of his other occupations, and now I find myself here in this great sandy plain, where without being quite able to picture how it is done, I have been transported from one place to another, at Gujner, where it seemed to me that I was in the land of imagination of the fairies of whom I read and heard in my youth. The enchanted palace was there, and all that a human being could do to make, not only our stay but that of all assembled there as happy, as enjoyable as it could be, was achieved by His Highness—and if that had not already sufficed to enhance our friendship, there fell from you to-night words of appreciation of the lady who has honoured me with her company during so many years. Your Highness must be gifted with an extra sense, you must know and have divined its significance from your own experience what the assistance of Her Excellency has meant to me in any service I have been asked to perform. I thank you and shall say no more than that you have put into words that which generally lies buried very deep in the male heart.

His Highness has referred to the work in front of the Princes of India. He has mentioned also some sinister aspersions and evil motives attributed to them. If I have heard of them they have left no impression. I have not the faintest doubt, indeed, who that has studied recent events would have doubt, of the loyalty and devotion of the Princes of India to the King-Emperor. That there are difficult times ahead is perhaps not questionable, but I am not minded to-night to discuss the general political conditions of India. His Highness has referred to them very briefly in the general survey of the present time. Certainly I do not minimize them, neither am I inclined to exaggerate them. Like His Highness, I have a very firm belief in human nature, and I noted His Highness' observations on the robust common sense of the Indian people. Although we differ in many characteristics in East and West, yet fundamentally we are the same, we live very largely the same lives, and are swayed by reason and by generous sentiments. Unfortunately reason is sometimes swayed by passion. I have observed that here passion is too often generated by a mistaken, at times a misrepresented, view of the intentions of the Government of India. I have spoken so recently on this subject that I shall not repeat myself to-night. I shall only say that it is a mistake to imagine that a desire to

meet the legitimate wishes of those who believe they have grievances is weakness. It is possible to be firm, and yet conciliatory. I shall leave this subject, tempting as it is, interesting as it must be, with the observation that the desire of my Government, as His Highness so truly recognized, is to do that which is best and wisest in the interests of India, and the interests of the Empire.

I shall not dwell to-night upon the part the Princes will be called upon to play in the future of India. We have had opportunities of discussing some of these questions in the Chamber of the Princes. I am glad to hear that His Highness and his brother Princes have appreciated such efforts as I was able to make. His Highness rightly adjudged that I shall always be pleased to discuss, to consider, and to consult with the Princes of India, upon the affairs that so vitally interest them. Standing here in this fort, in this State, with this Prince, I must make some observations before leaving you. Since I first set foot in this State, I have examined, I have considered, and have admired. It must be a wonderful experience to reign as the twenty-first ruler of the State, and as the twelfth Maharaja. The quality of the eclectic is well marked in Your Highness. You have displayed it in extracting from the West the special knowledge of the West, and applying it wisely and judiciously to the special environments of the East. In itself this is a notable accomplishment. At this moment I think of His Highness as I saw him to-day, as I see him now, at the head of his force at the review on his own parade, in his own country, on his own soil, riding at the head, a proud figure, and yet with the consciousness of responsibility, a fine figure, a resplendent figure. I thought to-day as I saw him approach, here is a presentation in the twentieth century of Rajput chivalry. Rapidly my thoughts travelled from the gorgeous and beautiful uniform, and from the honours resplendent upon his breast, which have been showered upon His Highness, to him as ruler and administrator. I have had the advantage of reading and studying the records of this State. I recall Your Highness' advent to the Gaddi, when seven years old with a Council of Regency, till your majority, and then I see Your Highness striding forward swiftly, till after a little over twenty years of administration, you have the proud satisfaction of observing that the revenues of your State have increased from twenty lakhs, as they were when you first administered them, to over eighty lakhs, as they are at the present day. And here this very gratifying subject must be left for to-night.

It must indeed be gratifying to a father's heart to see his son learning, whilst his father is still young, to shoulder the burdens, and to bear the responsibilities of State administration. It would be difficult to select for a father's pleasure anything which could equal that. If I may congratulate His Highness on having the assistance of his son while still so young, and when many of his age might be devoting themselves to lighter pursuits, may I be allowed also to congratulate his son upon possessing so young, so picturesque, and so attractive a father. Let me add that it is my firm conviction that whatever might happen, whatever might befall in the future, Bikaner will be true to its traditions, and will be staunch and faithful to the Crown. I ask you to drink to the health of our host, His Highness the Maharaja. He has revelled in gathering his friends together and in giving them the pleasure in his power to bestow. I invite all here assembled to join in wishing health, happiness and all prosperity to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

*Speech at The Durbar at Delhi on the occasion of the
Visit of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales
16th February 1922*

Your Royal Highness, Your Highnesses and gentlemen: We are met here to-day to extend on behalf of the Government of India, the Ruling Princes and the two Imperial Legislatures, our loyal greetings to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, on this his first visit to the Imperial Capital of India. On myself, as the representative of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, falls the pleasant duty of initiating the proceedings on behalf of the Government of India, and in doing so I need not say how fully I appreciate the opportunity of tendering to His Royal Highness our warm and hearty welcome in these historic surroundings, where His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, a year ago, inaugurated the Chamber of Princes. I feel that the ceremony of to-day is a fitting symbol of the bond of love and sympathy which binds India to the British Crown, not merely the India of the Reformed Councils, but the greater India of the future, in the Government of which the Princes and people of India will bear an ever increasing part. His Royal Highness comes, however, as I have said on more than one occasion, not as the representative of any Government to promote the interests of any political party but as the Heir to the British Throne, anxious to acquaint himself with the thoughts and wishes of

India. His Royal Highness made this clear in his first speech after landing in India when he said to the people of Bombay : " I want you to know me and I want to know you." It is in this spirit that we greet His Royal Highness to-day. We feel that during the past three months the goal of mutual understanding and trust has already been reached throughout the greater part of the Indian Empire. In Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras the great cities identified with the commercial enterprise of the earlier British settlers in the East ; in Lucknow and Benares and now in Delhi, the homes of ancient culture and civilization ; in Burma, the latest aspirant for responsible Government ; and in the great Indian States of Baroda, Rajputana, Central India, Hyderabad and Mysore, His Royal Highness has already, by his sincerity of purpose and charming personality established himself in the hearts of those with whom he has been brought into contact. He has learnt to know them and they have learnt to know him. In Delhi, the capital of so many kings of old and the seat of the modern Government of India, where memory clings proudly to the glorious days when Her Majesty Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, when the coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII was celebrated, and his Majesty King George V himself held his Coronation Durbar, our greeting has a special significance here. Our hearts naturally go out with affection towards the Prince who has already endeared himself to the people of Great Britain and of the Dominions beyond the Seas, with whom India hopes before long to be enrolled as a full partner in the great British Empire. In Your Royal Highness we acclaim the new spirit of the age, purified by the trials and tribulations of the past seven years, eager to right wrongs and soothe distress and, above all, to foster and maintain the glorious cause of justice and freedom throughout the world. Your Royal Highness, I tender to you on behalf of my colleagues and myself our warmest and most loyal greetings.

Speech at The Durbar—Prince's Reply
16th February 1922

His Royal Highness, in reply, said : I am very grateful for the warm welcome which you have extended to me and for the kind expressions you have used concerning me. I will convey your message of loyal devotion to His Imperial Majesty. It is a pleasure to me to receive this welcome at Delhi, which has become the capital of India by my father's command and to meet to-day

the representatives of those bodies which were brought into being by the Royal Proclamation last year and which were inaugurated on behalf of His Imperial Majesty by my uncle, the Duke of Connaught. It was to have been my privilege to perform those ceremonies, but circumstances prevented my taking part in them, and it is with all the greater pleasure that I realize at last deferred hopes in meeting you here to-day. Among the members of the Chamber of Princes I shall, I know, renew many old friendships this afternoon and form new ones. No greater proofs were needed than those furnished by our past relations and the recent splendid efforts of the Indian Princes in the Great War to show that at all times, whether in days of peace or hours of trial, the Crown can rely on the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes, but, in spite of this, Your Highnesses, during my tour in India, have once more, in the most unmistakable manner, impressed on me at every stage of my journey the great depth and strength of the tradition of loyalty in the Indian States. If I, on my part, have in measure been able to convey to Your Highnesses the gratitude of my House for those feelings and convince you of the confidence, trust and esteem which His Imperial Majesty reposes in your order, I am satisfied. I know the high hopes which His Imperial Majesty entertains for your Chamber. May the history of the Chamber be a tale of the wider part played by your order in the development of India of an ever-strengthening bond of union between the Ruling Princes and the Empire and of steady advancement, of the well-being and prosperity of the peoples of this land.

With you, gentlemen, who are members of the Imperial Legislatures, I feel I may also claim a special tie. I come before you to-day as one who is anxious to ripen and perfect an acquaintance which has already been pleasantly begun. I have had the honour of meeting a number of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly during my tour in the Provinces, and my visits to the Legislative Councils in the Provinces and my talks with members of these bodies who look to you for example and inspiration have taught me something of the problems lying before not only the Provincial Legislative Councils, but also before the central bodies on which you serve as representatives of the peoples of India. In my journey through India nothing has struck me with greater force than the vastness of your task. In the aftermath of the War, legislative bodies all over the world are passing through a difficult time. Even our British Parliament, with centuries of experience and tradition

behind it, with all its store of gathered strength of achievement and its firm foundation on the confidence of the people, has not found these new problems simple of solution, or these new needs easy of adjustment. I realize how infinitely more difficult is the task before India's Imperial Legislatures, which were only created last year. The vast extent of your field of labour, the complexity of interests and the diversity of the peoples and creeds of this great country, would render your responsibilities specially onerous in any case. The journey along an untrodden road towards the new goal would, taken by itself, be no easy adventure, but in addition to these perplexities you have the formidable burden of new difficulties which are taxing the powers of highly trained and experienced legislative bodies in other countries. Gentlemen, I have heard with appreciation of the ability and sense of responsibility which has characterized the debates of the Imperial Legislatures. I have been pleased to learn of the energy and patience with which you have begun your work. I sympathize with and admire, and I know that the British nation sympathizes and admires the courage with which you are facing your work. You may count on me as one, who knows your difficulties, rightly to appraise results, which, by the help of Providence, your good intentions and fortitude will secure. That you may be rightly guided, to secure the well-being and prosperity of the peoples of India, whose interests you represent, is my earnest prayer.

*Viceroy Proposes Health of His Royal Highness at the
State Banquet at Viceregal Lodge
February 22nd 1922*

It is my privilege now to propose the health of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. All here rejoice in this opportunity to welcome His Royal Highness and to wish him long life and happiness. Not only do we gladly give expression to this wish for him as the Heir-Apparent to the Throne, but also because none who are acquainted with the history of the last few years can fail to appreciate how great is the interest of us all who are citizens of the Empire in the young Prince now with us. We know His Royal Highness as a Prince ever eager to render service to the Empire. We know His Royal Highness as a soldier. He has won his spurs on the battlefields of France, and we daily witness the profound interest he takes in those who have served their country and particularly those who contributed so notably

to the successful conclusion of the Great War. His Royal Highness has already seen many of the great fighting races of India, the Mahrattas, the Rajputs, and the Gurkhas, and he will soon have an opportunity of meeting the Sikhs, the Pathans and other warriors of the North. We know His Royal Highness as a sportsman. I refer not so much to his prowess in the hunting and racing fields, the polo ground and elsewhere, as to the combination of qualities usually associated with the term "sportsman" in its wider and higher aspects, and which we of the British Empire are accustomed by instinct and training, to regard as a necessary equipment of those destined to lead in human affairs. His Royal Highness has shown that he possesses the essential qualities of the combination, for he has proved himself courageous, cheerful and chivalrous. It is thus inevitable that he should make lasting impressions upon the public mind. His Royal Highness labours in his previous tours were labours of love, but they imposed a heavy tax on his health, which necessitated a temporary postponement of his visit to India. It was no light responsibility for me to recommend to His Majesty the King-Emperor that His Royal Highness, so soon after the recovery from the strain of his travels in the Dominions, be invited to fulfil his promise to visit the Indian Empire during the present year. But having been assured that His Royal Highness had completely recovered his health, I felt I could not, in view of the ardent desire of the Princes and peoples of India to meet their future Emperor to show their devotion and loyalty to the Crown, advise a further postponement. We rejoice to find after the experience of the past three months, and when His Royal Highness has performed the greater part of the varied programme of his Indian tour, that he has achieved a veritable triumph, mainly due to his own personality. In my judgment His Royal Highness has never performed a greater service or, may I be permitted to say, acquitted himself more nobly. He has had an opportunity of seeing most of the Provinces and the leading States in India. There remain only the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province before he leaves the shores of India at Karachi. This is not the proper occasion for a review of the events of His Royal Highness's travels up to date, but I am convinced that in spite of certain misguided efforts to mar the success of the visit, His Royal Highness has strengthened the ties of love and reverence which bind the heart of India to the British Crown. Wherever the Prince goes within the Empire, whether his foot is on the soil of India, the Dominions or his own homeland, and

wherever he sails on the seas that are the Empire's setting, he will find that the Crown is a sacred possession common to us all, a possession of pride and reverence, a possession infinitely dear to our hearts. Our convictions to this effect have been deepened by the trials of recent years. His Royal Highness has inherited great traditions and has kept them bright. Fate has been kind to him and to us in proving him early. He stands out to-day as a great Imperial asset and the most popular of his father's subjects. I give you the health of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

*Indian Moslems and Turkey. Reply to Representations
of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawur
on 6th April 1922*

I thank you very warmly on behalf of Lady Reading and myself for the cordial welcome which you have extended to us on the occasion of our first visit to the North-West Frontier Province. It is a very great pleasure to us to have been able to come to Peshawur and to meet you all. It is with no common interest that we have seen the great barrier of the Frontier Hills and the gates outside where the forces of trouble for India have so often gathered, sometimes to be dispersed, and sometimes gaining strength to break through and carry rape and pillage over the face of the land. The menace of the past is not entirely banished, for the restlessness of trans-border tribes has not yet given place to stable conditions or to any permanent promise of lasting peace, and we should be blind to the facts if we tried to persuade ourselves to the contrary.

Vigilance against the forces of disturbance must still be our watchword on the frontier.

I take this opportunity of thanking the Khans, the tribesmen, and the peoples of the North-West Frontier Province for their great assistance to us in the past in helping to guard the frontier and to keep watch on those unruly elements, which, from time to time, have threatened not only this Province, but India east of the Indus. I know that you have deserved and earned a great store of gratitude from the peoples of India for the part which you have played. I warmly welcome your assurances that the manhood of the Frontier is still ready to combine and bear its share of the burden of defence.

The difficult problem of the protection of the outlying villages of your long frontier line demands a defence system which must

be elastic, not unduly costly, and above all suited to local conditions, with co-operation between different sections of the people themselves and between the people and the Government. Our difficulties are not incapable of solution, and I am inspired with confidence by the knowledge that the resolution of your leading men and fortitude of your people are ranged on the side of the Government in our efforts to meet the problem. We may also take encouragement from the fact that the conclusion of what I trust may prove a lasting peace with Afghanistan has put a new complexion on some aspects of frontier affairs.

The generous references which you made to my efforts to ensure the success of the Reforms Scheme, and a settlement of the vexed question relating to the Treaty of Sèvres, have given me deep gratification. As regards the application of the former to your Province, it would not be right for me to say anything here. The whole matter is shortly to be considered by a committee whose recommendations will command the most earnest attention. You may lay your views fully and frankly before them. As regards the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres I have, as you are aware, let no opportunity pass of placing before His Majesty's Government the demands made by responsible Moslem opinion in India and of urging that the fullest consideration should be given to their sentiments in the settlement of these problems. I shall not fail to convey to Mr. Montagu your regret at his resignation, and your expressions of appreciation and gratitude for his efforts on behalf of the Moslems of India. My own views have already been publicly stated. I deeply value the tribute paid by you, the representatives of a pre-eminently Mahomedan Province, renowned as a stronghold of Islamic traditions, to my endeavours to help the Moslems of India in the trouble which the Great War brought in its train for them. I have always cherished it as my privilege and recognized it as my patent duty to impress the views of responsible Moslem opinion in India upon His Majesty's Government. I am now fully acquainted with the views of His Majesty's Government upon recent events, and I am sure you will be glad to know that no question has arisen between His Majesty's Government and me, as Viceroy, or my Government regarding the propriety of either my own or my Governments' action in this or in any respect. Let me say that I take the fullest responsibility for the telegram sent, not only because I am the head of the Government of India, but because the proposal originated with me. I have also had

it at heart to allay by open statement of our action, wherever this was practicable, any misgivings which Moslems in India may have felt as to the steps taken to bring their views to notice in the proper quarter. The sole object my Government had in view in desiring to publish the telegram was to acquaint those interested in India with the action taken by the Government of India, but inasmuch as I fully appreciated that publication might affect the international situation, we requested the assent of His Majesty's Government.

Here again no question has arisen between us regarding this action. His Majesty's Government have declared that not only was my Government entitled to keep them in England acquainted with Moslem sentiments, and to impress them as forcibly as we could, but also that my Government acted with constitutional propriety in requesting His Majesty's Government's assent to the publication, and through the proper channel of communication, the Secretary of State. My Government's desire was to obtain consideration of Indian Moslem aspirations and their fulfilment in so far as they were considered just, equitable and reasonable. His Majesty's Government have made plain that Mr. Montagu's resignation has not affected their policy, either in regard to the Treaty of Peace, or to the Reforms, or otherwise. They have already stated that they will not fail to give due weight and full consideration to the representations made by the Moslems of India, in so far as these are compatible with justice, and their obligations to their Allies and other nations. I trust that the difficult question is now approaching a solution, and that peace in the Near East may soon be brought about. I am confident that when the final history of these negotiations comes to be written its pages will leave no doubt that Great Britain has been guided by that desire of justice and sympathy with the Moslem elements in the British Empire which has been a traditional feature of her policy.

Your desires regarding a University command my sympathy. I will not lose sight of your wishes for the improvement of the facilities for higher education in this Province. These matters as you know, are hedged about with financial difficulties. At the present time I can only undertake to keep your wants in mind, against a time when it may be possible to take practical steps to fulfil them. I am glad to be able to-day to express my appreciation of the great effort which the peoples of this Province, true to their traditions of loyalty and courage, made to assist our cause in the Great War. Your contribution in manhood

and in other directions is one which the Empire will not readily forget. I am glad to know that you appreciate the grants of canal land which were made to the ex-service men of your Province. You will recognize, I am sure, the difficulties which exist in rewarding all those with service to their credit in this manner. As regards the civilians of this Province, I will not fail to bring their desires to the notice of the Punjab Government for their consideration when new schemes for the colonization of State lands come under examination. It only remains for me to re-affirm the pleasure which has been felt by Lady Reading and myself in meeting you, and in visiting this Province, and to thank you once more for the very kind manner in which you have received us.

Viceroy's Speech on Mr. Sastri's Mission
13th May 1922

I have invited you here to-night to do honour to the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, and I now ask you to join me in wishing him success and God-speed on the great mission which will shortly take him away temporarily from India.

Its importance is notably emphasized by a message which I have been asked to deliver to Mr. Sastri from the Secretary of State. It is as follows: "Before you depart for Australia, New Zealand, and Canada at the invitation of the Governments of those Dominions as a representative of the Government of India, I wish to take the opportunity of expressing my sense of the high importance of your mission for India and the Empire. The eloquence and cogency of your appeals were largely instrumental in the success achieved by representatives of India at the Premiers' Conference last year, which placed on record a resolution recognizing the rights of citizenship of Indians lawfully domiciled in other parts of the Empire. The ready acceptance of that resolution by the Prime Ministers of the great Dominions which you will visit is a signal proof of the new status of equal partnership won by India through her efforts and sacrifices during the War in the Councils of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

"It will now be your task to extend and quicken the spirit of harmony and goodwill, to consult with leaders of political thought in the Dominions and their constituent States and Provinces as to the best means and methods of giving effect to the objects of the resolution, and to bring home to their peoples

the evidence of India's worthiness of her new status and her consciousness of the common ideals and higher interests which she shares with them as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. No one better qualified than you could have been chosen to undertake this difficult and important mission, on which I am confident you will achieve the greatest possible measure of success. You carry with you my most cordial good wishes."

This must assuredly be a gratifying tribute to our distinguished guest, which will, I trust, be an encouragement to him in the great work he has undertaken. It simplifies my task to-night, and expresses, in graceful language, the substance of our thoughts. I cannot part so easily from so tempting a subject, and, as head of the Government of India, I must give utterance to some of my reflections, knowing full well that I shall be expressing the sentiments of my colleagues in the Government and of all those who in India have her interests as a partner of the British Empire at heart. I shall not allude at length to my right hon. friend's past services to India and the Empire, for I feel assured that you will agree with me in holding that these services are already recognized as an important page in history, and that the chronicle of his activities will be read by future generations in India as marking an important step of progress in the relations between the British Government and India and in the development of India's place in the greatest Empire in the world. The part he, together with his colleague, the Maharao of Cutch, played at the meetings of the Imperial Conference in London and of the League of Nations at Geneva, is already well-known. Not content as he might have been to have rested upon his labours my right hon. friend then proceeded as the representative of India to the historic Washington Conference. Our honoured guest of to-night has made us proud of him, to whom we entrusted the heavy responsibility of placing India's interest before those high tribunals, and I do not overstate the case when I assert that his bearing in these weighty conferences, his high character and skill in argument and eloquence in expression have produced an effect on the representatives of our Empire and on those of other nations which has markedly enhanced the good name of India and elevated the reputation of her people.

My honourable friend has not escaped the fate of the common experience of those who successfully discharge great national responsibilities. He has been attacked by some who have failed to appreciate his past service and the value of his coming mission.

I feel assured that, whilst he will devote proper attention to legitimate criticism or comment he will pay no regard to those who, since his return to India, have striven merely to belittle his achievements. He will, I trust, rest convinced that he has throughout his efforts enjoyed the full confidence and earned the deep gratitude of those who have India's best interests at heart. If proof were needed in India the unanimous vote of the Legislative Assembly, that jealous guardian of public money, of the expenses for the mission on which he is now about to embark, places beyond doubt the value assigned by India to his services.

Let me briefly recall the reasons which led to Mr. Sastri proceeding on his mission to the Dominions. During the discussions in the Imperial Conference last year he represented the views of my Government and the aspirations of the people of India on the subject of the disabilities of Indians in the self-governing dominions. With the concurrence of his colleagues and of my Government he suggested that misapprehensions might be removed and a closer understanding and sympathy established if a deputation from India visited the Dominions and discussed the situation with the leading men. He expressed hopes that these conferences might lead to legislation to effect the desired changes. Who could doubt the wisdom of this idea? And I am glad to say that it was warmly welcomed by the Dominion premiers, whom he is about to visit.

It has now been decided that my right hon. friend will proceed alone and undertake this difficult task single-handed. He might well quail before the burden he proposes to lift, but he is undeterred by the difficulties of his task. My past experience of his tact and of the strength of his purpose inspire me to think that these delicate negotiations are in the safest of hands. We must not, however, be disappointed if they do not produce immediately the results we seek for. In these political negotiations patience is a great virtue. We must be patient. We have ground for trust, for I am confident that the seed Mr. Sastri sows will in the fullness of time bear the harvest which should completely satisfy our legitimate hopes. I am glad to inform you that the Commonwealth of Australia, his first destination, has sent through me to our honoured representative a most cordial message of welcome and an offer of hospitality as an honoured guest of the Dominion during his visit. He goes forth on India's mission to other parts of the Empire. India no longer stands outside the door when the Councils of Empire meet, but India,

present at the conferences, is taking her seat as a partner in the Empire. Time was when the aspirations of her people led to agitation for some greater recognition of her place in the Empire.

I wonder whether, even amongst the most sanguine, it was ever thought that within a period of a few years she would have attained the status she now enjoys and to which the Secretary of State's message bears eloquent testimony. India has made such rapid strides within the last five years that I sometimes doubt whether we have fully appreciated the distance she has travelled. As Viceroy, I naturally reflect upon her progress during this period. As Viceroy, I am proud of it and am grateful to England for her recognition of India's position achieved through her efforts and through the sacrifices she made during the War.

There are some who ask, what is India's place in the Empire? Where does she stand? The answer will be found in the history of the Imperial Councils of the last few years. We see in rapid review India taking her place with the Home Government and the Dominions at the Imperial Conference, at the Imperial War Cabinet, at the great Peace Conference, at the League of Nations, at the Washington Conference, and with them affixing her signature to the great world celebrated treaties. I shall not pause to recall the names of those who have taken part in them. They are inscribed in the pages of history, and so when Mr. Sastri arrives in the Dominions, he will again meet those distinguished men with whom he sat last year, and he will be conscious of his responsibility for an India which is a partner with those dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Let us wish him success upon his mission. It is our mission, for we, the Government of India, are responsible for the views he will represent. These are already well known to the Indian public, and he may rely upon the fullest possible support from my Government. As I see Mr. Sastri, I recall the occasion when I first heard of him. It was in England before my departure for India, and Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State, was speaking to me of the distinguished personalities of India. He told me of Mr. Sastri, and, from what he said, I expected to find, as I have found in Mr. Sastri, an eloquent, forceful and devoted servant of India. My knowledge of all the actions of Mr. Sastri on his various missions has deepened and strengthened these impressions, and I have no doubt that upon his return we shall acclaim him as one who has added to the great services

already performed. I give you the toast of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and wish him with all our hearts God-speed and success.

*Address of a Non-Official Deputation Protesting Against
The Premier's Speech 19th August 1922*

May it please Your Excellency: Your Excellency is, no doubt, aware of the deep and widespread stir caused in all Indian political circles by the speech on Indian affairs delivered by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 2nd of this month.

Speaking of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, during the course of that speech the Prime Minister declared: "Those changes were in the nature of an experiment. They must be treated as an experiment, and a great and important experiment, but, still an experiment." He further declared that it remained to be seen that a system of this kind, adapted to western needs, was suitable for India. In speaking of the British Civil Service in this country the Prime Minister stated that, whatever the success of Indians, whether as Parliamentarians or as administrators he could "see no period when they could dispense with the guidance and assistance of a small nucleus of British Civil Servants and British officials in India." According to him the British Civil Servants "are the steel-frame of the whole structure, and he did not care what you build on or to it—if you take that steel-frame out the fabric will collapse."

Coming as these pronouncements do from the head of His Majesty's Government, and inconsistent as they obviously are with the declared policy of the British Parliament as embodied in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, they have very naturally created feelings of grave concern throughout the length and breadth of India. Your Excellency, at a time when the British Empire was engaged in a life-and-death struggle, when India's sons had demonstrated their devotion to the British by shedding their life-blood on the battlefields of three continents, the then Secretary of State, speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government, made a pronouncement of policy in the House of Commons on the 20th August, 1917, which has been rightly characterized as the Magna Charta of India. That announcement we venture to remind your Excellency, was to the following effect: "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch

of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

This epoch-making announcement was correctly characterized by the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Report as "the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history." According to them it "pledged the British Government, in the clearest terms, to the adoption of a new policy towards 300 millions of people." In order to give effect to this solemn pledge the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu came out to India, and, as a result of the joint inquiry held by him and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, a scheme of Reforms was formulated which, having been carried through the two Houses of Parliament, finally assumed the form of the Government of India Act of 1919.

The Preamble to that Act reproduced verbatim the declaration of policy made in 1917, which thus received the final sanction of the British Parliament. At the inaugural meeting of the Reformed Councils, brought into existence under the provisions of that Act in February, 1921, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught conveyed to the Indian Legislature, and through them, to the people of India, a gracious message from His Majesty the King-Emperor, of which the following extract is of particular significance in connection with the object with which we have ventured to trespass on Your Excellency's valuable time to-day: "For years," said His Imperial Majesty, "it may be generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have the beginning of Swaraj within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy."

It is unnecessary for us in this address to multiply quotations from speeches delivered by responsible Ministers of the Crown in England, as well as by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in this connection. The declaration of 1917, the Preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919, and His Majesty the King-Emperor's gracious message are conclusive of the fact that the scheme of Reforms, far from being an experiment to be pursued or abandoned at will, constitutes a definite stage towards the goal of British policy as laid down by Parliament and confirmed by our gracious King-Emperor. These Reforms have already been carried into effect. We are nearing the fourth session of the Reformed Councils, and the manner in which the representatives of the people in those Councils have discharged their responsibilities

to their King and country have already received the welcome approval of two successive Viceroy's of India. Indeed, even the Prime Minister, in the very speech with reference to which we have ventured to request Your Excellency's permission to present this address, has admitted that even during the short period that the Reformed Councils have been in existence "there has been a very considerable measure of success in spite of the drawbacks which have manifested themselves." In these circumstances the Prime Minister's emphatic pronouncement, characterizing the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms as an experiment, the suitability of which to Indian conditions, according to him, yet remains to be seen, has rightly created widespread feelings of deep disappointment and grave concern in all Indian Political circles. Your Excellency, no responsible Indian can be desirous of injuring the position of existing members of our Indian Civil Service or of depriving them in any manner of the emoluments which they at present enjoy. Moreover, we all recognize that for some time to come the presence of a British element in our Services will be conducive to the best interests of the Indian administration. But for the Prime Minister to characterize the British element in our services as the steel-frame of the whole structure on which alone you must build, and the removal of which, according to him, must result in the collapse of the fabric, and to say he could see no period when India could dispense with the guidance and assistance of the British Civil Servant amounts to a denial of the basic principle of responsible Government. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Prime Minister's pronouncements have given rise to a fear lest in making them the head of His Majesty's Government will be going back upon the solemn pledge given in Parliament on the 20th August, 1917, and finally carried out in its adoption by Parliament in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919. Your Excellency, as the head of the Government of India, you are the guardian of the interests of 315 millions of His Majesty's subjects in this country. You have already in many ways given proof of your generous sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the people. Just at the moment when political conditions in India were steadily undergoing improvement, and the hearts of sincere well-wishers of Indian constitutional progress were full of hope, the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Prime Minister has created in this country a position which it is essential, alike in the interests of the Government as well as of the people, should be cleared up. The only means we venture to

submit, to achieve this desirable end is a clear declaration that His Majesty's Government have no intention of going back on the policy finally adopted in 1917 and 1919 of the ultimate grant of full responsible government to India and an authoritative re-affirmation of that policy. While entering our respectful but emphatic protest against the declarations made by the Prime Minister mentioned above we earnestly appeal to Your Excellency to take the necessary steps to obtain such a declaration from His Majesty's Government in order to allay the fears which have profoundly disturbed the minds of all sincere well-wishers of peaceful progress in this country.

In conclusion we beg to offer to Your Excellency our grateful thanks for having granted us the opportunity of giving expression to the feelings of deep concern, which at this moment are creating grave misgivings throughout the length and breadth of India, with regard not only to the constitutional changes which have already been introduced in this country, but also to her future advancement towards the ultimate goal of responsible government, solemnly promised to her by the British Parliament, as well as in the gracious message of our King-Emperor at the inauguration of the Reformed Councils.

Viceroy's Reply re Premier's Speech 19th August 1922

Gentlemen: I cordially welcome your deputation, and am glad you have availed yourselves of this means of expressing your views in plain, forcible yet restrained language. It also affords me the opportunity of making a reply which I trust will completely relieve your apprehensions and anxieties.

I have followed the comments and criticisms reflecting public opinion in India upon the speech of the Prime Minister with close attention, and I have been distressed to observe that you and others have thought the language of the speech was in conflict with the declared policy of the British Parliament as embodied in the Preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, and denoted a departure from the policy of His Majesty's Government announced in formal declarations and His Majesty's proclamation. I can well understand that those who have come to these conclusions are, as you say, deeply disappointed and gravely concerned. Let me assure you that if your references were correct I should share your feeling and you would have my fullest sympathy; but in my judgment, and as I have understood the speech, there is no real ground for this sombre

and almost sinister view of the Prime Minister's language. You will, I am sure, agree with me that the meaning the Prime Minister intended to convey to his audience and to India cannot properly be gathered from selected isolated passages, but must be taken from the whole speech, and with due regard to the circumstances that led to its delivery and the purposes the Prime Minister sought to achieve. I have studied the speech and have re-read it by the light of the fierce criticism directed in India against it, and I remain of my first opinion and am unable to accept the meaning attributed to it in many quarters,

Let me tell you how I understood it when I read the text of the speech, and particularly in the light of the debate in the House of Commons. I concluded that the Prime Minister intended to serve two purposes; the first to utter a note of solemn warning to those who, after the next election, might be inclined to pursue the deliberate policy in the Legislature of paralysing the activities of Government by rendering it impotent and reducing administration to chaos. Please observe that his note of warning is directed to the actions of those who may wish, after the next election, to wreck the Reforms. It is given not for the purpose of indicating a change in the future policy of His Majesty's Government, but with the object of concentrating attention upon the mischievous consequences of the threatened action. You will remember that a section of those who are avowedly hostile to the Reforms advocate the plan of becoming members of the legislature in order that they may destroy it and the reformed constitution.

The Prime Minister's second purpose, as I understood it, was to give confidence to the members of the Civil Services who have played, and still play, so great and important a part in the administration of India, to allay their apprehensions regarding their emoluments and pensions and general position since the Reforms, and to assure them of his sympathy in the performance of their trust and in the difficulties that confront them. Owing to changed conditions and increased cost of living, etc., it is common knowledge that there is now in England a marked disinclination to enter the Indian Civil Service. This has seriously disturbed those of us who have great faith in the Services and realize their importance in the progress and development of India. I do not pause here to discuss the changed conditions, I merely refer to them at this moment for the purpose of understanding the Prime Minister's speech. It is, I think, obvious that these were the subjects in the Prime Minister's mind when he addressed

the House in reply to speeches made by hon. members upon Indian affairs.

I have some experience of the House of Commons and also of the Prime Minister, and I can assure you that had he intended to announce or indicate a change of policy of His Majesty's Government he would not have failed to make his meaning clear, and he would have left no room for argument regarding his intentions. No speaker is more capable of expressing himself lucidly and forcibly. If I had any doubt as to his meaning it would have been removed immediately I read the account of the debate in the House. What happened after the Prime Minister had spoken? Colonel Wedgwood asserted that the Prime Minister had threatened to withdraw the Reforms. Sir Donald Maclean, who had also heard the speech, and is opposed to the Prime Minister and his Government, and who is one of the leading Members of Parliament and of the Liberal party, immediately dissented from this view and gave his interpretation of the speech, to which, as publicly reported, Mr. Lloyd George nodded assent. Lord Winterton, the minister in charge of Indian affairs in the House of Commons, gave a most complete and unqualified denial to the suggestions of Colonel Wedgwood, and here again the Prime Minister, seated on the Government bench in the presence of the members of his Government and of the House of Commons, made a gesture of assent, which again was publicly reported; so that in the presence of his colleagues and of the assembled House the Prime Minister immediately repudiated the intentions imputed to him.

Surely this is conclusive, and any ambiguity of language which may have existed, ceased to have importance. But on so grave a matter there should not be room for the faintest possibility of doubt and, therefore, I placed myself in communication with the Prime Minister, who authorized me to say that nothing in his statement to the House of Commons was intended to conflict with, or to indicate any departure from, the policy announced in the formal declarations and His Majesty's proclamations. I trust, therefore, that in any future observations there will be no place for the suggestion that the speech either did mark, or was intended to mark, a change of policy by His Majesty's Government.

You have sought to ascertain whether there was any ground for the fears and apprehensions that beset you and others by reason of certain particular passages and expressions in the Prime Minister's speech. The answer is given in plain and

unequivocal terms and should end the controversy as to the meaning the Prime Minister intended to convey.

In view of the explicit statements already made I am not minded to examine with you in detail particular sentences used by the Prime Minister. We are not discussing an Act of Parliament. You have sought to ascertain what the Prime Minister meant by words which appear to you to be capable of an interpretation of grave import to India. That apprehension is, however, disposed of by the statement I have made to you. Yet you and others have laid so much stress upon, and directed so much criticism on the use of the word "experiment," that I detain you for a moment to point out that in my judgment there is no ground for suggesting that the word, as used or otherwise, denotes a change of policy. Much attention has been concentrated upon this word and many subtle and ingenuous attempts have been made to read into its use some new declaration or indication of policy; and yet I think it requires a very cursory study of the whole of the literature upon the Reforms, including the Preamble and other parts of the statute, to realize that the plan adopted was a constitutional experiment.

The Prime Minister, in his speech said:

"There have been very able and distinguished Indians who have done their best to make the experiment a complete success, but others who have steadily opposed it. A good deal will depend upon the kind of representatives chosen at the next election, whether they will be men of moderate temper, such as those who constitute the present Legislature, men who are honestly and earnestly trying to do their best to make the new constitutional experiment a success, or whether they will be men who are simply using all the powers of the machine in order to attain some purpose which is detrimental to British rule and subversive of the whole system upon which India has been governed up to now."

I would call particular attention to the words "men who are honestly and earnestly trying to do their best to make the new constitutional experiment a success." Does not that truly describe the position? Is not the new constitution under the Government of India Act a new departure, and, be it added, one of the most momentous character? The Government of India Act, as we all know, was passed to carry out the new policy introduced by the declaration of the 25th August, 1917, substantially repeated in the Preamble of the statute. Is it not a perfectly legitimate use of popular language to refer to a new and

hitherto untried departure as an experiment? May not every new venture by human beings be properly described as an experiment until it has achieved its object? In the present case there is fortunately no doubt, as the Prime Minister has pointed out more than once in his speech, that a very considerable measure of success has already been attained, even during the limited period of one year and a half of the existence of the new constitution.

The Prime Minister made generous reference in his speech to the able and distinguished Indians who have striven their utmost to make the Reforms succeed, and his language shows that he is as desirous as they that their efforts should ultimately prove completely successful; and, although it is, I trust, scarcely necessary, I would add my fervent hope and my earnest prayer that nothing will happen to mar the success of this policy.

I note also that not only you but others are seriously perturbed by the sentence quoted by you from the Prime Minister's speech relating to the Civil Service. I have already stated the circumstances that caused the Prime Minister to speak on the condition of the Indian Civil Service in this debate.

As I gather from such reports of the debate as I have seen this was the precise point raised by the speeches of the Members of Parliament who had introduced the subject of India into the debate then proceeding. I gather both from your address and from all I have read and heard that there is apprehension lest this language should indicate a modification of the hitherto pursued policy in accordance with the declaration in the Preamble of the statute.

First, there are apprehensions regarding the provisions for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration. It is unnecessary now to labour discussion as to the meaning of the Prime Minister's language, for he has made quite plain that there is no ground whatever for this apprehension. Secondly, the fear has been expressed here again that it was no longer intended by His Majesty's Government that there should be the gradual development in India of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible self-government in British India, of course as an integral part of the Empire. Once again the Prime Minister has stated that there is no foundation for this apprehension, and that the words of the Preamble to the statute which I have quoted stand now where they did before he made his speech, and that no change was indicated by him. The assurances I have been

enabled to give you should lay at rest your fears and anxieties, and have, I trust, convinced you that the formal declarations and proclamations as prized by you are not affected by the Prime Minister's speech; that he never intended that they should be affected, that he meant them to remain, and they do remain, exactly as they were before the debate in question.

I have myself wondered that it could be thought that solemn promises and declarations, made by His Majesty's Government and by the King-Emperor and translated into an Act of Parliament, could be so lightly changed or modified, or that an intention to change would be arrived at without consultation with the Viceroy and the Government of India. I have already given expression to my views upon the Reforms, and shall content myself to-day with repeating to you that I have the closest sympathy with your desire to proceed along the road marked out in the famous declaration, and I trust that you and all those who wish well to the new constitution, and I and my colleagues in the Government of India may continue in co-operation to labour for the eventual realization of your aims.

*Viceroy's Speech at the Installation of the Maharaja
of Rewa, which took place in the Residency
at Indore on 2nd November 1922*

This is the first time since I have been in India that I have been present personally to invest a young Ruling Prince with the power of administration of his State. I much regret that a temporary indisposition has prevented me from visiting the State of Rewa, as I had intended, but I am glad that I have this opportunity here at the Residency of taking part in the investiture. It is also the first occasion on which a Maharaja of Rewa has received his powers direct from the hands of a Governor-General of India, and I welcome it with pleasure as affording me an opportunity of evincing my personal interest in a young Prince whose forbears have ever been conspicuous by their steadfast devotion and loyalty to the British Crown. The loyal services of the Maharaja Rajhuraj Singh, who in the dark days of 1857 contributed a contingent force of 2,000 men to assist in keeping order in Baghelkhand, was brilliantly emulated by Your Highness' father, who on the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, was one of the first of the Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India to assert his enthusiastic loyalty to the King-Emperor by placing the whole resources of his State at the disposal of the Empire.

At a time when the moral and material support of the Princes of India was of incalculable value the telegram sent by the late Maharaja of Rewa was strikingly characteristic. It reads: "Kindly enquire if there are any orders for me and my Army from His Majesty the King-Emperor or the Government of India."

Your Highness cannot fail to be inspired and stimulated by the precept and example of the past rulers of Rewa. It is four years since your Highness succeeded to the gadi, the head of the administration during the minority has been Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Sujjan Singh, to whom the Rewa Durbar owes a deep debt of gratitude for his self-sacrifice in undertaking the onerous duties of Regent in addition to those already devolving upon him as the Ruler of Ratlam. The Regent has been ably assisted by the President and members of the Executive Council, while Major Colvin, the late Political Agent, has also devoted much time and thought to the administration, and for some ten months acted as Regent during the absence of the Maharaja of Ratlam.

The progressive policy of the council has made itself felt in every branch of the administration, and your Highness may well be gratified at the account which the council are able to give of their stewardship. The normal margin between revenue and expenditure is small, and yet despite heavy expenditure on marriages of members of the ruling family, and three successive lean years, when famine conditions prevailed, the finances have been carefully husbanded, and the State is free from debt. Irregular survey and settlement operations which have been dragging on for nearly nine years under unqualified agency have been replaced by a settlement, which is now in progress under a qualified Settlement Officer. The lot of the peasantry has been ameliorated by the abolition of begar and harwaha.

The Public Works Department has been reorganized and a start has been made on improving communications by an extension of road construction. Public health has received due attention. The police have been reorganized, and placed on an efficient basis under the able supervision of Mr. Scott, of the Central Provinces Police. A separation has been effected of the judicial and executive functions of the administrations. Education is backward, but some advance has been made by the opening of an Anglo-Vernacular School and several new village schools. Your Highness, it is a heavy burden of responsibility that you are undertaking to-day, for the discharge of which a

high sense of duty and untiring industry are required. I look to Your Highness to realize this responsibility and by governing your State wisely to ensure the happiness and prosperity of your people and the maintenance of the traditions of your House.

You have been ordained to take your place as head of this State at a period of change and transition. Events in the world have given birth to new ideas. Forces are at work which have awakened a new consciousness everywhere among the masses. New aspirations have been engendered, new standards are being created, new tests are being applied to the old order of things. These forces cannot be ignored or excluded from consideration. They must be faced and dealt with. You have the priceless heritage of the devotion of your subjects.

In these times of change and difficulty they will look to you for guidance, and for sympathetic insight into those new influences which cannot fail to stir them. The best advice which I can give you in these difficult circumstances is to hold the welfare of your subjects constantly in your thoughts, to keep in touch with their hopes, try to understand and meet their difficulties, attempt to win their confidences, and take them into yours. Where you are convinced that in any direction a reasonable desire for advance has been established and expressed, let a wise hand guide wholesome and reasonable development on the lines best suited to your local needs. I know of no fairer prospect than that which opens out before you now, when you succeed to a goodly heritage at the dawn of manhood. Your State possesses great possibilities in the development of its forest, coal, and other mineral resources. In carrying on the schemes which the council has had time only to start Your Highness will have the satisfaction of providing for increased revenue, and so of being able to extend further benefits to your people by developing educational facilities, and by fostering and encouraging the inauguration of Co-operative Credit Societies, which are the only real remedies against agricultural indebtedness. It is because I have every confidence that you will deal with all such problems in the best interests of your State and people, that I am here, Maharaja, to instal you to-day.

You have had the requisite education and training. After spending some time at the Daly College, Indore, your education during the last four years has been under the direct control of Major K. Evans Gordon, who I am glad to note has won your confidence to an extent that has led you to make a special

request for the retention of his services as your personal adviser. Finally, you have acquired some practical experience of the working of the States Department, and of the way in which to deal with the business of the administration. From to-day you will begin to build up the reputation that will one day attach to Your Highness' name. You have round you helpers and advisers who wish you well, and I assure you that I myself, and the officers serving under me, will always be ready to help you to discharge your high responsibility. May this day mark the commencement of an era of happiness and prosperity for yourself and your people, and may you prove worthy of the great trust which you have inherited.

*Farewell Dinner to Sir William Vincent at Viceregal
Lodge, Delhi, on 20th November 1922
The Viceroy's Speech*

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen : In the year of grace, 1887, William Vincent, a youth of twenty-one years of age, disembarked from the ship that had just arrived in India, entering upon his career in that great institution, the Indian Civil Service. He saw strange and wonderful surroundings yet unknown to him, but, nevertheless, he looked hopefully and confidently to the future. That is as I picture him, and on his countenance were marked capacity, vigour, frankness, kindness and humour. Other qualities, so well-known to us, were then latent, or at least they had not left their impress upon his physiognomy. In the year of grace, 1922, this youth, now Sir William Vincent, having risen to the arduous and responsible position of Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Home Member in that Council and Leader of the House in the first Legislative Assembly of India under the Reforms, is about to leave us to take up his new appointment in England as member of the Secretary of State's Council. Thirty-five years he has spent in the services of the Crown in India. A fine record and a long period. I shall not recapitulate to you the many offices he has held. If I did it would savour too much of an obituary notice, which, I hope, will be delayed a great many years. But whatever posts Sir William has held, it can truly be said that he has faithfully and manfully discharged his duty. He has found that the reward of one duty is the proved capacity to fulfil another until he became in April, 1917, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Home Department, an office he still holds. Many have greater

knowledge of his post than I, but I know enough of it by repute to be assured that throughout all the places filled by him he may be proudly conscious of having striven his utmost to serve the Crown and to perform the duties entrusted to him. Neither will I refer to the many positions he has filled on committees discharging most important functions. Some of his colleagues are assembled around this table to-night to do him honour. In that work—very important work—he has managed to combine steadfastness of purpose with tactfulness and skill in negotiation. But, I speak of him not as I know him by repute but as I know him by closer association.

Ever since I have occupied my present office I have seen much of him. Many of the difficulties that we have had to encounter have come within the sphere of his department. Whenever I have turned to him he gave me the full benefit of his vast knowledge and experience. He was ever ready to serve, ever prompt in action, persuasive in debate and, perhaps most important, constructive in difficulties. At the last, when his term of office was about to expire, there were two occasions upon which I asked him with the full assent of the authorities at Home to alter the arrangements he had made and stay a little longer. I remember his answer to me on the first occasion, I knew it was inconvenient to him, but he said at once, "I will do whatever Your Excellency thinks best in the public interest."

One further observation I would make with regard to his career upon which I have dilated very briefly. To him has fallen the distinction of acting as the leader in the first Legislative Assembly of the All-India Legislature created under the Reforms, a historical fact to which, when the history of India comes to be written and India has travelled far along the road of progress, the student will turn, and, in reading this early chapter he will find that many difficulties had to be encountered. He will realize that for the first time the Viceroy and his Council were faced with a legislature, not with a Government majority as always hitherto, but with a majority of elected representatives. During that time, as you are aware, many problems presented themselves, and I very much doubt whether any man ever has had greater difficulties to face than Sir William Vincent had during this critical period. Whatever his views may have been with regard to the Reforms, whatever opinions he may have held, nevertheless, as an important and loyal servant of the Crown, he gave no expression to them once the Reforms were in force.

On the other hand he showed zeal and enthusiasm in ~~his~~ attempts to make these Reforms successful, in setting out on the path mapped out for India, and he loyally carried out the wishes of the Crown, as announced in the Royal Proclamation. I often think that those who are striving equally with him to do their best in this task, set a fine example. I am speaking of those who have acted quite regardless of their own private opinions. This example may help others to tread the same path, and those young men at Home who are looking for a career in the future and pondering the choice they should make, might well turn to the history of Sir William Vincent.

I will now convey to Sir William Vincent, on behalf of the Secretary of State, a message which he desired me to give of high appreciation of the services which Sir William has rendered and is rendering and will render to India. I have one duty still to perform and I count it as a privilege. In importance it should have preceded everything that I have said because it is of far greater significance. Had I said it at the first I should have found it difficult to make the other observations I have made to you. It is that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer upon Sir William the Grand Cross of the Indian Empire. This is an honour bestowed upon him in recognition of the services that he has rendered to India and the Empire. Having finished what I may call the more ceremonial part of my speech, which is spoken in all earnestness and sincerity, I turn for a brief minute to more personal aspects.

I speak not of his faults, which, if recounted, could only serve to enhance his virtues, but among his many merits there is certainly one defect and I turned to it to find some consolation for his departure. A file was brought to me, and on that file Sir William Vincent had made some notes and a draft in his own handwriting. After a long and painful examination, assisted by my private secretary, a gentleman who could do anything, I had to give it up at last. Fortunately there was a note attached to it at the end of which said that for a special reason it now became unnecessary to consider the draft. But, in spite of that, I think the draft should be preserved as it stands for all to look at in the future in order that we may test some of the young men and discover how far they succeed in the examination of deciphering. If they can once decipher that, I believe there is no problem which they could not solve. I thought also of a paragraph I had just happened to read in a newspaper, and then I was very glad that Sir William Vincent had to go for his

examination before 1887 and not at the present period, for the examiners announced that in future they would be much more severe upon the students in their examination and deduct many more marks for poor handwriting.

But Sir William has many other qualities upon which I will not speak. I am told he knows all about beautiful flowers; he can tell you their names. I know he is a great gardener. He is a great student of human nature and that is where he and I always met on common ground.

I am very, very sorry that unfortunately Lady Vincent is not here to take her part in the honour which we are doing her husband, but I say for you and for myself that we send to her the warmest messages of good wishes for her future. We have the satisfaction of having one daughter of Sir William's here present and I am sorry that it was not possible for the other daughter also to have graced us with her presence this evening, but I hope that they will remember that in the gathering to-night in this hall and in my observations made, not only on my behalf but also on yours, relating to their father, is the expression of the sentiments of those who sincerely regard him as a friend and feel towards him deep affection. Sir William is going now to England, and there I am glad to say he will be the first representative on the Council of India who has had actual experience of the working of the Reforms, both of the Constitution and in the Legislature.

For myself, I shall miss him and I am sure so will all my colleagues here, I do not quite know what His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will do when he no longer gets the side-whispers which are not supposed to reach me, but which make him laugh. I will only ask Sir William, in thinking of India, to remember that we appreciate all that he has done, and rejoice that he carried away with him a mark of the honour of His Majesty's recognition when he is just about to leave us.

I ask you to join with me in drinking this toast to him. He will, I trust, take with him the recollection of the friends he has left behind in India and the good opinions he has won. I would ask him not to dwell—I am sure he won't—too much upon the criticisms that have been directed against him, nor to pay too much regard to those things time has shown him might have been better done, but to concentrate upon the work he actually has done. I ask you now to drink with me and to wish long life, health, prosperity and happiness to Sir William Vincent.

PATNA.

*Address from Bihar Landholders Association, and
the Pradhan Bhumahar Brahman Sabha 11th December 1922
Lord Reading's Reply*

I thank you very warmly for your kind address of welcome to me, and which you have extended also to Her Excellency. I assure you that it is a source of great pleasure to me to pay even this brief visit to the capital of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, for on historical, religious and other grounds, this province appeals to the imagination with no common interest. History has taught us about the old civilizations and empires that held sway here. Within your boundaries pilgrims flock to sacred places such as Budh Gaya and Jagaunath, which are so closely associated with two of the dominating religious systems of the East. Patna holds a special interest for the British as one of the early trading outposts of the great English Company which grew to fame in Calcutta. Though Patna suffered an inevitable decline in trade when railways took the place of rivers as the great arteries of commerce, its ancient importance and prestige has now revived since its rebirth by His Majesty's command as the metropolis of a new Province. Bihar and Orissa have another additional interest in being the first British Indian Province of which an Indian was appointed to hold charge as Governor under the Governor-General and the Crown. Lastly, as the home of coal and iron and mineral wealth this Province will attract increasing attention in the future.

The life of your young Province has not been without its difficulties. Before its creation you relied on Calcutta and Bengal for all large provincial institutions, such as universities, medical, engineering, and other technical colleges. Bihar and Orissa has now had to attempt to create all these necessary and beneficent institutions afresh. There has in consequence (in spite of the fact that the Central Government take no contributions to control Revenue from the Province) been a serious disproportion between your finances and your needs. I deeply sympathize with your difficulties and with your feeling of disappointment that lack of funds is retarding progress and denies to you amenities and advantages which more fortunate neighbours enjoy. But I feel confident that, with care and vigilance, and with co-operation between all classes under the able guidance of your Governor, you will be empowered to advance, and by

judicious management to bring to fruition those objects on the attainment of which you have so rightly set out.

I will now turn to subjects more closely connected with the associations which you represent. I will say, in the first place, that I deeply value an address from your associations, because they are composed of the great zemindars and the landlord community of this Province. I appreciate the great value of their loyalty to the Crown, and of their support to the administration at all times, and more particularly in the Great War, and I assign a high place to their influence, both in the past and the future, an important and stabilizing element in the history of this Province, under the reformed constitution. The future of your Province in many matters lies, to a large extent, in the hands of the enlightened classes in the Province. Your class has a great position and great responsibilities. I have confidence that you will devote yourselves with increasing energy to shouldering the burden of your obligations, the promotion of the well-being of the people of Bihar and Orissa in a manner worthy of your status and position, and I pray that in this task you may rightly be guided and you may also be enabled to educate and prepare your sons to take your place in the fullness of time in the execution of the noble mission which you have inherited. You have alluded to the tenancy legislation which will shortly engage the attention of your Legislature. Some of you who are present here to-day joined in an address to me in March last, and will recollect what I said on this subject on that occasion. I would remind you on the one hand that it is on the welfare, prosperity and contentment of his peasantry that the political wealth and influence of a great landlord depends; on the other hand, the tenant class must not forget that their interests are largely wrapped up in those of their landlords, and that any serious disintegration in the position of the landlords, or disturbance in the relations between them and the landlords may have disastrous and far-reaching effects, not only on the landlords, but on the tenants themselves, which the latter may scarcely be able to visualize, but which are familiar enough to students of these evolutions. Economic and other changes almost inevitably lead to a desire for re-adjustment, and this is the reason of the legislation now in contemplation. I realize that these readjustments often cause friction and misunderstanding, but I am confident that these can be readily overcome if both parties approach the subject in a spirit of trust, with a desire for mutual understanding, and for the

subsistence of amicable relations of ancient standing. It is only right and fair that, in the first place, that in any such process due regard should be paid to long standing rights and privileges of landlords. I trust that it will be in this spirit that you will bring your agrarian legislation to a successful conclusion. I thank you again on behalf of myself and Her Excellency for your welcome.

Speech at Calcutta Free School 15th December 1922

Mr. Principal and Governors: I am glad to have been able to come here to-day for a variety of reasons. There is a traditional connection between the Governor-General and this ancient foundation. Lord Cornwallis was the first of my predecessors to be identified with your interests, and nearly 134 years have passed since he presided at a meeting of the Free School Society in Calcutta convened to secure educational support on a permanent basis for the children of British subjects in indigent circumstances. In becoming patron of this school on that occasion Lord Cornwallis had, no doubt, in mind the fact that since the year 1726, through various vicissitudes, the beneficent objects served by this school had aroused unflinching interest among the European residents of Calcutta, and that the school carried traditions back to the first beginning of European education in India.

From that time onwards various Governor-Generals have watched over and helped your fortunes, and so close was the interest taken by some of my predecessors in your affairs that at one time the Governor-General's recommendation was a condition precedent to an election to the foundation. At the time of the reorganization of the governing body in 1835, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General, became patron to the reconstituted administration, and from that date till to-day successive Governor-Generals have consented to have their names borne on the rolls as patrons of this institution.

The population of Europeans and persons of European parentage in Calcutta has largely increased, and owing to the rise in the cost of living there are, alas! numbered among them a considerable proportion of people in very narrow circumstances. At such a time a school which feeds, clothes, educates and starts in profession, free of cost, a majority of its poorer students must have a very strong claim on our sympathy, and it is, in order to give practical expression to my own sympathy, and

in the hope to encourage others to share in the interest aroused by this school in me, that I pay the visit to-day. Before I came here I read with interest two documents bearing on this school. Though they are very different in character they produced the same effect on my mind—a feeling of gratification that I was connected with this school and that I was its patron.

The first of these documents you have before you. It is a very modest and straightforward account of the Principal, Mr. Hider, of the working and progress of the school, in the present year, of the difficulties encountered, and the success achieved. The second is an interesting and detailed inspection report of Mr. Papworth, Inspector of European Schools in Bengal. Mr. Papworth had made a most searching and thorough enquiry into every aspect of the activities of the school, and his well-considered verdict is one which, I think, can be confidently endorsed. He places the school at the head of the institutions in Bengal classed as Higher-Grade Schools, which aim at providing a sound, general education with a practical bias, finding its completion in special vocational training. In spite of the difficulties about finance and problems connected with accommodation and buildings inherent to all town schools the School holds a strong and almost unique position among the European schools of the Province.

These results afford a striking testimony to the great forethought and care which Governors and Principal have devoted to the organization and administration of the institution, and to the loyalty and high-sense of responsibility which animates the staff in the execution of their duties.

*Annual Dinner of the European Association 23rd
December 1922 in the Dalhousie Institute*

His Excellency, replying, said it could be only for the good of India that the Association should take its part actively in political life. All communities were represented and he was glad that the Association was setting to work not to set back the clock, but to help it to advance. They recognized the *fait accompli* and the time had gone for a discussion as to whether the steps which had been taken were wise or not. All political parties in Britain were committed to the Reforms and no party opposed them. The present Prime Minister was a member of the Coalition Government when the Act of 1919 was passed, and, at the outset of his career as Prime Minister, he made a

pronouncement that he intended to pursue the policy which had been laid down. Having commended the provision of the Association's constitution, stating that its object was to foster a relationship of cordiality and co-operation with Indians working constructively for the good of India, His Excellency referred to the present situation in India and said that for some time after his arrival he found it was true that there were very difficult times for India but the worst of the critical period had passed and he thought they were justified in thinking that the present moment compared favourably with the first year of his Viceroyalty.

Lord Reading expressed in this connection his appreciation of the assistance the Government of India had received from the Governors of the Provinces and Government administrators. His Excellency added that these were times of considerable strain, but the Government of India was convinced that it was right to continue to administer the law while having regard to the legitimate susceptibilities of Indians and to their responsibilities to the British Parliament.

Racial animosity also was no longer so acute as it was and was daily tending to diminish. His Excellency referred to the Racial Distinctions Committee, but said he was not in a position to speak freely on the subject as there were some matters still under discussion between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, but he hoped all that had been done would be known soon. He knew of no better augury for the future than the spirit in which the British and Indian members of the Committee had met for the purpose of ending a controversy which had in the past led to so much bitterness.

His Excellency proceeded to refer to the Indianization of the Services, and said there was not a word of truth in the notion that the Government of India was opposed to recruitment from England. There was no proposition of the Government of India in opposition to it. He had never been a party to any proposition which opposes recruitment at home and could not conceive anyone coming to that conclusion, and although he could not speak of those who served him on the Council, he was at least certain they had never committed themselves to any such idea as had one time been prevalent. His Excellency added that he did not believe any Government that might be formed in the future with the fullest measure of responsible self-government would act unfairly regarding the pay and pensions of Civil Servants, but he could understand the apprehensions felt and he

would welcome it if a means could be found to secure them adequate protection. But guarantees were required not from the Government of India but from the Home Government.

Having referred to the beneficial results expected from the formation of the Standing Committee attached to the departments of the Government of India, His Excellency concluded that he did not know what the future might bring, but if, when he came to lay down his task, it was thought in India that he had contributed to secure the peace and prosperity of the country, and if the European association thought he had done some good in the cause of India within the Empire he would be better pleased than by any monument, or by any tribute that might be paid to him.

1923. 23RD JANUARY

*The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers
of Commerce at Calcutta. Viceroy's Address*

Sir Campbell Rhodes, Your Excellency and Gentlemen: It is my good fortune to begin my part in the proceedings by taking the opportunity of congratulating Sir Campbell Rhodes upon the honour His Majesty has graciously conferred upon him in recognition of the public spirit he has manifested and the public services he has rendered to India.

As you so well pointed out, the problems that come before your Association for consideration must include some of the most momentous to the prosperity of India. I and my Government are fully conscious of the weight that should be attributed to the views of those engaged in business in relation to all matters affecting commerce and industry, and you may rest assured that we shall always give careful consideration to representations which this important Association may make, composed as it is, of representatives from all parts of India and expressing the opinions, not merely of one Chamber but of the Associated Chambers. You, Sir Campbell, are presiding over the deliberations of your delegates. I am here to open the proceedings. The subjects mentioned by you for discussion are mainly problems coming before the Central Legislature during the next few weeks. Those referred to by you are of the greatest importance to the future of India, and demand the careful consideration not only of myself and my Government, but also of all individual members of the Legislature, as well as all those who are occupied in bringing thought and intelligence to bear upon these complex problems.

You, Sir Campbell, have referred humorously, and evidently with enjoyment, to the fate in store for your two former colleagues on the Fiscal Commission. I observed them both when you made your references, and I was interested to see how the pleasure depicted in your countenance was omitted from those of your two distinguished colleagues, but I found myself envious of you when I listened to you. The free and detached position you occupy at this moment enabled you to make such remarks as you thought fit, remembering that you were President and that you are able to sit quietly here and watch your two former

colleagues in the struggle in which they are about to be engaged. I reflected that the position of a Viceroy in these days is more difficult. He has a Legislature just about to meet in which these very difficult problems will come up for discussion. He has His Majesty's Government to consult on many of these problems, and so perhaps you will not be surprised by my envying the position you at present occupy to which you have yourself given expression. I wish I could take part in your deliberations and express myself with the freedom of a President who has already put into writing with his colleagues the conclusions at which he has arrived. I shall watch with the greatest interest the report of your discussions.

The recommendation now made that duties should be imposed not merely for revenue purposes, the hitherto accepted fiscal policy for India, but with the object of fostering and protecting industries, a new departure for India, deserves all the attention of the mercantile community as well as the public. The President and the members of the Commission were entrusted with a responsible and difficult task. A study of their report shows that they have devoted considerable thought and study to the investigation of the complex problems presented to them. Whether individually you agree with their conclusions or not, we must all be grateful to them for their devotion to the public interest. The position is complicated by the financial conditions of the country which must always in this respect be kept in mind. Heavier duties have been imposed in recent years for the purpose of approximating revenue to expenditure. Whatever may happen, whatever decision may be reached regarding the recommendations of the Commission, the Government on whom the ultimate responsibility will always rest, must take into account the revenue needs of the country. In truth, this is merely stating what must be self-evident to all who give thought to the subject and is embraced in the general fundamental principle that regard must be had by the responsible authorities to the general welfare of the community and must not unduly favour one section of it. It should not protect one industry to the disadvantage of the rest of the community. It has been fully recognized by the Commission that we must be careful that the general desire for the industrial development of India, which is commensurate with its larger population and natural resources, does not lead to action that may eventually retard instead of advance the prosperity of the country. There can be no diversity of view in this respect. We are all aiming at the same goal, the

development of the industrial prosperity of India, but we may not all agree upon the measures to be adopted for the purpose.

Whatever may be the individual views, it will not be disputed that, if the new resources of wealth can be created, it will encourage the development of national life and national character, but this is only if the development is based upon the general welfare of the community. That must always be the supreme test. I refrain from further discussion upon this most interesting subject which should be approached with the desire to judge its effects upon India and the prosperity of its people. It should not be decided by preconceived views regarding the relative advantages of Free Trade and Protection, but by consideration of the relative advantages and disadvantages to India of a change in her fiscal policy. The eventual responsibility for the fiscal policy of this country and of the various steps that may have to be taken, must rest upon the executive authorities. It is with the Government of India that the final responsibility of determining these questions in India must eventually remain. There are, of course, questions which will have to be considered in the Legislature and, obviously, some matters will have to be discussed with the Home Government, whether a tariff is adopted or not, whether other means may be adopted of investigating and arriving at the conclusion, the burden must ultimately rest upon those at the head of the Government here. I mean that the Government cannot delegate its functions to Boards. I do not suggest there is any real divergence between the views I have expressed and the report of the Commission. Indeed, I think that the conclusions are much the same and that when considering the application of the recommendations in their bearing upon the revenues of the country, there should be an examination, and it necessarily must take place by the Government, for the purpose of testing the effects of the recommendations upon the production of revenue.

I do not wish to enter further into this subject at this moment, except to say that I cannot but think, as at present advised, that the advantage would always be in favour of one enquiry instead of the addition of another enquiry following the first. What seems to me essential is that when these matters are considered an investigation should be made into an industry for the purpose of considering whether it would be wise in the interests of the country generally to impose a tariff in regard to that industry for the purpose of protection. I cannot but think that it would be desirable that the Government should itself take

some part in that enquiry in order to consider the effect upon revenue and whether the financial condition of the country would be seriously prejudiced, it might be, by the proposed recommendations. Of course, all these matters are for further discussion and I am certainly not expressing any final opinion.

What impresses me, looking merely at the recommendations of the Commission, is that the imposition of tariffs for the protection of particular industries carried with it certain attendant consequences, sometimes productive of good and sometimes productive of evil. I can well imagine, for example, from the experience of other countries that there might be great propaganda for the purpose of aiding a particular industry. Again I can well imagine that if a Board was appointed and that Board came to its conclusions and made its recommendations of a tariff in regard to a particular industry, then the Government would have to make up its mind whether it could adopt these recommendations. I can quite well conceive that opportunity would then be taken for the purpose of developing propaganda in the interest of the industry protected, and a desire also to force the hands of the Government. What I wish to bring to your minds, as you are considering this subject among others, is that it would be desirable that there should be no such interval, and that whatever the tribunal may be when the recommendation is made there should be the shortest possible interval between the recommendation of the tribunal and the decision of the Government. These are matters which I dare say will have occurred to you and upon which you may have come to conclusions. My mind is quite open and I wish anything I have said to be taken only as a view formed at present in connection with the Fiscal Commission.

Financial considerations must necessarily arise. India has during the last five years had to meet deficits. Whilst I hold necessarily strong views as to the need for the balancing of our revenue and expenditure and all possible steps are being taken in that direction we should not unduly exaggerate the seriousness of the situation which has existed during the last few years. We must remember the effects of the War and also, it is not unuseful to compare our own position with that of other countries. This is not the moment at which I should take up your time by pointing out the advantages enjoyed by India, but I would draw your attention to this, that whereas obviously we must do our utmost to restore equilibrium in finance, equally must we not tip the scale by unduly dwelling upon the financial

condition and exaggerating, as sometimes is done, the fears of the future. Of course, if a country continues for a number of years in deficit there can be no doubt of the end. This is a very critical period in international trade and it does not require words to emphasize the situation at present in India. Obviously trade is hampered, paralyzed, crippled by conditions abroad, which have ensued consequent upon the War, with the result that many markets are closed which formerly we were in the habit of supplying. We must try to reduce expenditure. Lord Inchcape, whose public spirit is so well illustrated by the duties he is now performing as chairman of the Retrenchment Committee, is assisted by those specially selected to fill very responsible positions. I am not surprised that their labours will last perhaps longer than some had originally anticipated, but the Government of India, ever since the last Budget, have been doing their utmost to economize in the general administration, and I need not say that we are glad to be able to give all possible assistance to Lord Inchcape's committee and that we shall look forward to their recommendations.

Whilst speaking of finance, I take this opportunity of welcoming Sir Basil Blackett to India. He has just arrived to take up the duties Sir Malcolm Hailey so faithfully discharged until he became Home Member. I first met Sir Basil at the beginning of the War when I was at the Treasury in London. He has served with me in each of the four occasions of my visits to the United States, and I therefore know him and his capacities. He has had a very rare experience of finance during the War, both in England and in the United States. The high position he recently filled at the Treasury is the best proof of the public appreciation of his services. I am glad that he has come to India to give us the benefit of his knowledge and experience which has the advantage of being both practical and theoretical, and I look forward to his assistance as one of my colleagues in my council.

I cannot to-day dwell—neither is it needful—upon the vast importance of currency and exchange questions in India. You, Sir Campbell, have called attention to the rupee and what it has done for itself. It very often happens that if these matters are left to the operation of the ordinary conditions of commerce they arrive at their own solution and often find a more stable basis than when outside influences are brought to bear upon them. May I just say one brief word regarding railways. The question of the management of railways must come for decision within a very brief period. Much has been written about it.

There has been a most careful enquiry, as you are well aware, and the result has been an equal division of opinion on the Commission. Conclusions must be reached after studying the arguments of both sides in this controversy. May I just make one observation. The railway management question in India should be approached from a different standpoint to that prevailing, for, in India, you are not faced with the problem of determining whether or not a new principle shall be introduced, that of state ownership and state management of the railways. That is already in existence in India where a large portion of the railway system is both owned and managed by the State, so that the principle is already established, although that does not make the present question easier of solution. The problem now is whether that system of state management should be extended in regard to the railways which are owned, or largely owned, by the Government, or whether the management should remain with the companies. I shall watch with the greatest interest the reports of your discussions. Here I must leave the subject to-day and not express my own opinion until later.

May I now pass to a very brief review of the general economic condition of India at this moment. It has, of course, an important bearing upon your deliberations, and upon the future of India. It is more hopeful, crops are good, unlike last year; the balance of trade is now in India's favour; export trade is better; tea has had a remarkable revival; the outlook for the jute mills is more promising. While these are satisfactory features we must remember that in the world generally, owing to economic unsettlement, trade remains dull and cautious and the future is uncertain. Industries in India are not feeling any real stimulus to activity. There has been a recent fall in the prices which Indian cotton mills can get for their goods. Other features of importance are a slow but steady decline in the price of food-grains and in the cost of living. The fall in the latter during the last year in Bombay is estimated to amount to 17 per cent. No one has a greater desire than I have to see industrial development in India, and I hope that I may persuade others to share in my confidence that it is possible. I would welcome and assist every measure calculated to give it real, encouragement, but it must be development of the right kind, and in this I know that you will be in complete accord with me. The last ten years have shown a very marked expansion in the diversity of all kinds of industry attempted in India. The total volume of the results of this expansion may not be very great,

but many new types of industries have been started. This is to the good. There is also the growth of a widespread belief in the efficacy of industrial development to raise economic standards in India and to some extent to help her financial position. There is a desire to hasten this development. I welcome and commend such aspirations. At the same time you know, as I know, that this panacea is not so simple of attainment as may at first appear. Industries bring their own problems; patience and continued effort, and the lessons of experience can alone bring them to success. If there is to be expansion there must also be increased attention to the conditions under which labour lives and has to work. The favourable reception which the principles underlying the Workmen's Compensation Act have met shows recognition of the need for legislation to keep pace with changing conditions. Many of you, gentlemen, are associated with industries. You will bear me out when I say that if we are to have a period of industrial expansion, an especially heavy responsibility will lie during that time on the directors of companies. It will not be an easy period. All industries are subject to periods of unusual prosperity and also normally must expect periods of unexpected depression. Directors concerned in the expansion of industry are faced with the factor of fluctuation. It is one to which they must accustom their shareholders if they are to retain their confidence, for successful industry does not depend on the size of dividends distributed over a short period, but on the firm establishment of a concern on a basis which is able to resist the buffets of temporary periods of depression, and in this establishment the directors' and shareholders' interests are and should be the same. These may be fundamental truths and are well-known to the members here assembled, but, nevertheless, they are of supreme importance in the expansion and development of industries. It is well that they should be emphasized.

There is one subject to which I would very briefly draw your attention and would invite, if you find it possible, some expression of opinion from your association. It is an elementary truth that justice long delayed is often justice denied, and I have been impressed by the long delays not only in arriving at a decision of the court, but also, and sometimes more seriously, in the enforcement of its decrees. I am considering, with the assistance of those best able to advise me, the steps that should be taken for the purpose of expediting and facilitating the recovery of debts and the enforcement of rights in our Courts of Law. I

trust that it will not be thought that I am reflecting in any way upon the administration of justice in India. Nothing is further from my thoughts. I am considering the system and its effect not only upon the commercial community but upon the public generally. It may not be and is, I understand, not a matter of complaint in Calcutta, but I am speaking of all India and to delegates from all parts of India, and I should therefore specially value your opinions. I have been particularly impressed with the difficulties experienced in the country in enforcing the judgments obtained from the courts, difficulties which are surprising and, indeed, I think I should be justified in using stronger language. I understand the special difficulties that occur in this country by reason of complications arising from laws and customs of particular communities and make every allowance for them. Nevertheless I cannot but think that justice demands imperatively that a remedy should be found for a condition of things which, according to the reports before me, produces great hardships and sometimes serious injustice.

I pass now to the desire of your association for more extensive representation of your interests in the Indian Legislature. It is very natural that you have a claim to take your part in the important matters under discussion in the Legislative Assembly, and that your views and experience would be of service to the country, deserve ventilation and would carry weight. I note that you have addressed my Government and that the matter is still under their consideration. The original scheme of representation and franchise was framed, as you are aware, after a careful enquiry and represented a delicate adjustment of numerous claims. It took effect before I came to India and the resulting position, as I understand it, is as follows: European commerce, as such, has a definite representation in the Council of State where the Bengal, Bombay and Burma Chambers of Commerce each have one seat. Purely Indian commerce, on the other hand, is not specially represented in that Chamber, but has representation in the Legislative Assembly. The scheme of representation in the latter Chamber, however, was framed mainly on territorial lines, and is the result of an attempt to balance the claims of one Province against another, so while the European community in various Provinces has representation, for example, the Bengal European community has three seats, the Bombay European community two seats, and the United Provinces, Madras and Burma Europeans one seat each respectively, there are no general seats representing specific

interests outside the Provinces. To this extent the acceptance of your proposal would appear to create an innovation and be a deviation from the principle underlying the original scheme. It would also mean as you are at present constituted (although I believe there is nothing in your articles of association to preclude the election of purely Indian chambers to your association) a probable increase in the European vote. Your proposal is, accordingly, not without its difficulties. In spite of these difficulties your aspirations will receive the most careful consideration, not only on their intrinsic and individual merits, but because of the larger principle involved, for is this not a sign that you have realized the great importance of politics to those interested as you are in commerce? To my mind the commercial world cannot stand aside and leave entirely to others the responsibilities of political administration, and this is specially the case in India. The days have passed when you could afford to be inactive. Your interests in this country are too important. Government, I feel confident, may rely on your sustained interest and sympathy in the problems before us. We may count on your assistance and support. I need hardly remind you that confidence in the administration and faith in the political future of a country are essential to all commercial well-being. Without such trust trade cannot flourish nor can the country progress. The interests of India in particular demand that there should be confidence in the internal situation, that within and without India there should be an atmosphere of trust that all is well with India, that India is stable, that India is marching steadily, step by step, constitutionally and peacefully, to a more complete expression of herself, to a more assured prosperity, to a higher civilization, to her ultimate goal of self-government and to a greater place in the Empire and the world.

At such a time those who have India's interests at heart, those who love her, cannot but deeply deplore the unfortunate resolutions at Gaya. I shall not dwell on them for I do not believe that in these resolutions I hear even a faint echo of the real voice of India or of those who serve her truly. I will not attach too great importance to these threats. A vigilant watch will, however, be kept on these preparations and I can give you assurance that my Government will use all its resources to combat and quell the forces of disorder should they become manifest.

I know that, if there shall be need, I can look with confidence to the support of all responsible opinion in this task, and as

I see the members of these various Chambers of Commerce assembled, the reflection occurs which came to me recently on another occasion, I cannot exactly analyze the reason, neither is it material, but I find it difficult to address a number of those who are so concerned in the future of India, who have so much responsibility in their individual hands for the development of the prosperity of India, without asking them to travel with me for one moment to higher flights of imagination to look into the future, to strive to picture India as she will be. I see her not as an India with representation of different communities, not an India where the Hindu community shall be striving for its own interest only, or the Mahomedan community attempting to obtain some special interest for itself, or the Europeans considering the interests for the moment of their own community, but an India of all communities, of all classes, in which the Hindu, the Mahomedan, the European and every other class, race and creed, shall join and endeavour to make India a great India and to give her a higher place in the future history of the world, when every man will be doing his utmost for the country in which he has been born or his interests are involved, so that all may concentrate their attention upon the one ultimate goal. But however divergent our individual interests may be, the national interests must be the same, the interests of all communities regarding the future of the country should be identical and will, I trust, become identical. It is looking ahead in India to the obliteration of those distinctions which necessarily rule at the present moment, when she shall have worked further along the road to her ultimate destiny and I trust we shall have harmonious co-operation, which must inevitably lift India high in her material prosperity and in her position in the councils of the Empire and the world.

*Lord Reading's Reply to the Address of the Ajmer Municipality
on 26th January 1923*

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Municipal Committee of Ajmer: On behalf of Her Excellency and myself I thank you warmly for your cordial welcome. We have long looked forward to visiting your beautiful city and we feel sure that we shall not be disappointed in the interest and charm which it has in store for us. As the capital of the last Hindu Empire in Northern India and as a favourite residence of the Moghal Emperors in later times, Ajmer has historical associations of

special importance. The ancient fame of Ajmer, and its present position as a centre of British administration in Rajputana, need no higher testimony than the fact that this city was specially selected for a visit by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress in 1911, and again last year by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. I am glad to learn that you maintain in this city a firm tradition of loyalty in full measure. I am confident with you that by mutual co-operation and by peaceful and steady progress India will attain the goal of responsible Government within the Empire, to which we all look forward.

You have taken me into your confidence regarding your local problems and difficulties. I have heard with regret of your serious situation as regards water supply, and your needs for improved conservancy. Most Local Governments and local bodies at the present time are suffering like you from the rise in the cost of materials and establishments since the War. We have reason to hope that these economic difficulties are disappearing and that slowly, but surely, the future is giving better promise. I learn that you contemplate the imposition of additional taxation to meet your responsibilities for public necessities and amenities, and though I cannot, of course, at this stage say anything as regards the decision my Government may arrive at on consideration of my proposals, I can promise that your request for a loan to improve the water supply will receive careful and earnest examination, more particularly if you can show that you are utilizing to the full all possible resources of local revenue. I accept with great pleasure your invitation to lay the foundation stone of the Victoria Hospital on the new site.

*Reply to the " Mayo College Address " on the
same occasion, 26th January 1923*

Your Highnesses, Mr. Leslie Jones, boys of the Mayo College, ladies and gentlemen : I thank you for the kind welcome extended to Her Excellency and myself, and assure you that it is a great pleasure to us to visit the Mayo College. In his address the Principal has outlined the original objects for which the College was founded and the more extended aims of its later development.

Rajputana and many Indian States beyond its boundaries owe a very great debt of gratitude to the generosity of the Ruling Princes and others who contributed towards the foundation

and endowment of the Mayo College. In spite of its comparative youth, the Mayo College can point to a long series of successes, and its traditions and healthy spirit have, I am sure, afforded inspiration to many lives. The ideals at which the College aim have had an influence far beyond the boundaries of the College itself. The standard of character and conduct, which it is its pride to inculcate and observe, act as an example and are a strengthening force to many others than those who actually study here. May those influences gain in vitality and expand with the increasing years.

I am informed that in recent years the financial condition of the College has given cause for serious anxiety, and that it has been necessary to diminish expenditure in many directions and also to take measures for increasing the income. I am glad to learn that the efforts of the Managing Committee have met with success and have restored financial equilibrium for the time being at all events.

*Mayo College "Old Boys." Viceroy's Address
26th January 1923*

I am very glad to have the opportunity of meeting the "Old Boys" of the Mayo College, and I thank you for the welcome you have given to Lady Reading and myself. Your association is, I am assured, performing work of great value in preserving the traditions of your old school and in keeping alive the *esprit de corps* and affection with which every "old boy" should regard the institution where he was educated. Much of the pride and love with which every Englishman regards his old school is preserved by his association with others who were his fellow-students in days gone by, and I am sure that the same pride and affection animate you "old boys" of the Mayo College. It is for you to keep a jealous guard on the spirit and love of your old College, to maintain the high standards and keep its good name unsullied. Your unfailing interest will help to secure that no alloy creeps into the pure gold which should be minted here, that every coin which goes out is true to the old mould, shining and pure and ringing true. The practical sympathy and support of the "old boys" is also a valuable asset to the College itself and its administration.

I thank you warmly for your address and for the beautiful casket which you have presented to me, and I wish your association all success in the future.

*Viceroy's Speech at the Investiture of the Maharaja of Jodhpur
at Jodhpur on 27th January 1923*

It gives me great pleasure to be present here to-day to invest the Maharaja of Jodhpur with ruling powers because I am afforded an opportunity not only of showing my personal interest in the young Prince whose name, if I may say so, is full of happy augury for the future, but also of making my acquaintance with the Jodhpur State. His Highness succeeded to the gadi at the age of fifteen, a little more than four years ago, and during his minority the administration of the State has been conducted by a Council of Regency under the presidency of His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh, who returned from France to place his services once more at the disposal of the Jodhpur State. He occupied the position of Maharaja Regent till the day of his death on the 4th September, 1922. Though called in the closing years of his life to conduct once again for the third time the administration of the Jodhpur State during the minority of a Ruling Prince, he brought to his task the same indomitable energy, the same masterful personality, which had characterized him throughout his active connection with the Government of Marwar, a period extending with brief interruptions over sixty years. Throughout his life he was never surpassed in loyalty and devotion to the Crown, and he enjoyed the privilege of the esteem and friendship of our King-Emperor. We all, I know, feel the deepest regret that death has robbed him of the joy of seeing his labours crowned by the ceremony of to-day. Time alone can show the extent of the debt which the State owes to the late Maharaja Regent.

The period of the regency has been marked by a series of lean years, due to insufficient rainfall, and owing to trade depression a considerable decline has resulted in the gross receipts of the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway, one of the main sources of the State income, while working expenses and establishment charges have increased. Despite these adverse conditions, the finances of the State are in a very satisfactory condition. The revenue has risen from about Rs. 89,00,000 to Rs. 1,00,00,000. After defraying debts, amounting to Rs. 35,00,000 approximately and providing a sum of no less than Rs. 70,00,000 for capital outlay on the railway, it has been possible by the exercise of the strictest economy to add Rs. 31,00,000 to the State reserve fund, which now amounts to nearly Rs. 2,50,00,000. A revision of the land revenue settlement made in 1881, which

was long overdue, has been taken in hand under expert supervision, and should be completed by 1924. The State is still without any settled revenue and rent regulations, or revenue courts, and it is to be hoped that in the interests of the cultivating classes, this defect in the administration will soon be remedied.

You commence your rule to-day with every hope and promise for the future. The foundations have been well and truly laid, and it now remains for Your Highness to build up your administration on those foundations in a manner worthy of the high traditions which you have inherited. The business of government is more difficult and complex to-day than it has ever been. There has been a change in the world since the Great War. Old ideals have been disturbed, old methods have been criticized. This unsettlement of ideas has its influence for good, but a period of transition and change inevitably brings difficulties to the task of the administrator. People are no longer content with the same standards which satisfied their forefathers, and your Sardars and people will expect to share in the moral and material advancement of the present day.

*Viceroy's Speech at the State Banquet at Jodhpur
28th January 1923*

Your Highness, I thank you most heartily for the very kind words in which you have proposed the health of Her Excellency and myself, and for the warmth of the welcome with which you have received us on our first visit to Jodhpur.

Nothing would have given us greater pleasure than to have prolonged our visit to a State of which we have heard so much if it had been possible, and I hope in the future to have an opportunity of accepting the invitation which Your Highness has so kindly extended. There are many objects of interest in Jodhpur which arrest my attention. I hope to pay to-morrow a brief visit to the Fort which dominates your capital city. It brings to me compelling memories of old times and glorious history. I would be deeply interested to see all Your Highness' local institutions. The short time at my disposal however, will not permit me on this occasion to do so, but I am solaced by the thought that when I eventually pay them a visit, as I hope, Your Highness will have had time to leave your own mark on their character and efficiency.

I have heard with interest of the town-planning scheme to which Your Highness is devoting keen attention, and of your laudable desire to expand the amenities of your capital city. With the possible advent of a broad-gauge railway station in the future, the improvement of communications and the selection of new urban extensions have become matters which call for the utmost skill and care. I am aware that Your Highness has taken a keen interest in the efficiency of your troops, and I regret that I have not had time during my visit to see on parade your fine regiment of cavalry, which earned for itself undying honour and glory in the Great War, and so fully maintained the martial reputation of the Rathors.

Finally, Your Highness, the year of your accession has been a prosperous one for Marwar, and you enter upon your administration with a happy peasantry basking among gifts from Nature's cornucopia. All our thoughts to-night are concentrated on you. Your hand to-day has been set on the helm of your State. You have entered on your course as a ruler. It is a very happy occasion for Jodhpur. It is a very important event both in your Highness' life and in the history of your State.

Further, our thoughts turn to the important State which Your Highness has been called to administer. We survey the vast field awaiting your labour. What infinite scope for development and progress is seen here! What noble and beneficent work lies ready at your hand for execution! We think of the great population over whom you will rule. We reflect, and it is a solemn thought that your acts will affect the destinies of thousands upon thousands in Jodhpur State to-day and of generations yet unborn. By your wisdom and sympathy, peace and prosperity, contentment and progress may be their lot. Bound to them by the old traditions of their loyalty to your house and stock, it is within your grasp to secure and keep that most priceless possession, the love and reverence of your grateful subjects, and this is why, Your Highness, our thoughts are with you to-day. That is why this is an occasion of rejoicing. That is why all our wishes and hopes follow you, the inheritor of a great past and position, and we trust, the sponsor of a great future for Jodhpur.

These high hopes, we know, that one in particular had for Your Highness, one whose absence to-night we all deplore. For Sir Pratap's place is vacant to-night for the first time for many years at a Jodhpur State Banquet.

*Speech on Visit to Nawab of Rampur at the
Rampur State Banquet on 3rd February 1923*

I thank Your Highness very cordially for the warm welcome which you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to Rampur, and for the very kind expressions in which you have referred to us. The greetings we have received will long remain among our most pleasant memories. Your Highness' kind thoughtfulness has been exerted in every direction to provide for our comfort and entertainment, and in all the arrangements made by Your Highness for our visit that personal touch of warm solicitude and interest has been manifest which is the keynote of true hospitality. As the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it has been a source of special pleasure to me to have been able to visit Your Highness, as one who has received special marks of His Majesty's esteem needs no testimony to the regard in which Your Highness and your State is held, but my visit will once more emphasize the fact that the British Government recognize that the Rampur State yields to none in its claim to stand in the first rank in its devotion to the British Crown. The lapse of time and the changes which the years have brought have only strengthened these ties of mutual trust and regard which subsist between the British Government and Your Highness' House and State.

Under our protection and with our support the Rampur State has developed and prospered in peace, while in times of need the British Government has been able to rely without question on the fidelity and military traditions of the Rohillas. Nearly a century and a half have passed since your distinguished predecessor offered his famous cavalry to the British to fight in their battles with the French, now our allies. The steadfast assistance which Your Highness' great grandfather rendered to the British Government in the anxious days of the Indian Mutiny is treasured in our annals. The same tradition has been handed on. The Rampur troops were placed at the disposal of the Government for the Mohmand campaign, and in the Great War the whole resources of the State were freely offered to the British Government. I need not relate in detail the many directions in which Your Highness' offer took practical expression, but I cannot pass over without special commendation the splendid exploits of Your Highness' Imperial Service Troops in East Africa, and the distinction which their services in that campaign won for them.

Nor has Your Highness' support and help been forthcoming in times of war only. Peace has its special problems, and the difficulties which confront the administration in internal affairs have their peculiar perplexities and dangers. As an enlightened and experienced Moslem ruler, and the head of the Rohillas, my predecessors and the heads of the local administration of the United Provinces have often turned to you for advice and sought your co-operation. In 1910, standing where I now stand, Lord Minto acknowledged the great debt which the Government of India owed to Your Highness for your steadfast loyalty and co-operation in the difficult times confronting his government, and I note that only last year Sir Harcourt Butler, just before laying down his office as Governor of the United Provinces, and after a long connection in various capacities with this State and these Provinces, paid a notable tribute to the great value of Your Highness' advice, help, and your unstinted support in the difficult situations with which he had been faced in his long experience of the administration in this part of India. It is for this reason that I particularly welcome Your Highness' understanding appreciation of the difficulties of my task as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and I specially value Your Highness' expression of gratitude and confidence. I am, as Your Highness has observed, profoundly sensible of the position occupied in the Commonwealth of India by the Indian States and their Rulers. I hold the obligations of my Government to them sacred, and look to them, on their part, not only for that assistance in times of external dangers which Your Highness has rendered without stint, but also for continuous co-operation in the great task which lies before the administration in India—the advancement of India and her people, her steady and peaceful progress to higher planes, material and moral well-being and her eventual attainment of a high place worthy of her great population and ancient civilization in the Empire and the world. I need not dwell any longer on these aims because I know that Your Highness shares them, and that my Government can rely on the house of Rampur to strive to bring them to fruition.

Before I close I desire to express my gratitude to Your Highness for your appreciation of my efforts as Viceroy and the efforts of my Government to assist in the attainment of peace in the Near East. It has been my aim to keep myself continually informed of the sentiments and reasonable aspirations of Indian Moslems in regard to a settlement with Turkey, and to bring their views to the notice of His Majesty's Government. In the

lengthy negotiations which have taken place, it will have been observed that most of the points which Indian Moslem opinion considered essential have been embodied in the terms under discussion with Turkey, and no one can have failed to remark the great patience and earnestness which Lord Curzon has displayed throughout these difficult negotiations, and the sincere desire to secure peace which has animated his efforts throughout. Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health and long life of our illustrious host, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, and to the prosperity of his State and people.

*Viceroy's Reply to the Speech of the Nawab Begum
of Bhopal at the State Banquet at Bhopal on
19th February 1923*

I thank Your Highness most warmly for the fine welcome which you have extended to us and the cordial terms in which you have proposed our health. We are deeply grateful to Your Highness for your princely hospitality. Your Highness has been untiring in thoughtful arrangement and has provided for our entertainment all that could interest and charm us. Circumstances beyond my control obliged me to defer my visit a few months ago, but the postponement of the visit has only served to enhance the pleasure now that it has become possible. For these and other reasons we shall take away the most pleasant memories of our visit to Bhopal. Long after our departure fond recollections will bring us back to the beautiful capital which Your Highness and Your Highness' ancestors have established amid the undying glories of hill and foliage and lake. But beautiful as Your Highness' capital is, the setting provides no more than a fitting background for the romantic and picturesque history of this State. In the past my thoughts turn back to the two hundred years, replete with moving incident and great adventure, which have elapsed since the daring Dost Mahomed Khan founded this House and carved out this principality in Central India. My imagination is at once struck by the wonderful tale of fidelity to agreements and of devotion to duty which has characterized the rulers of Bhopal and the lady representatives of that ruling line in particular. These qualities are constant and recur like a golden thread through the chequered pattern of the past.

The story is the same when I turn to the brave deeds of Moti Begum, sister of the Nawab Hayat Mahomed Khan, fourth

Ruler of Bhopal, who held Islamnagar Fort at all risks against the enemies of the State in 1797, or, in later times, to the valuable help afforded to the British in the difficult times of the Mutiny by Your Highness' grandmother, Her Highness the Nawab Sikander Begum. It was of a piece with such great traditions that Your Highness at the outbreak of the Great War placed the whole resources of your State at the disposal of the British Crown, that your Heir-Apparent, Nawab Sahib Sir Mahomed Nasrullah Khan, volunteered his personal services at the front and that moral and material support of a most valuable kind was constantly tendered by Your Highness, Your Highness' family, and your State to the British Government throughout that time of stress and anxiety. If I do not dwell longer on these services, it is because the thanks of His Majesty the King-Emperor have recently been communicated to Your Highness by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his recent visit to Bhopal, and I need not emphasize the esteem in which I personally hold these loyal services because Your Highness already knows of this. I value and prize most highly the assurance which Your Highness has given to the place which Your Highness assigned to loyalty to the Crown and service to the Empire. I note Your Highness' appreciation of the necessity for better organization of the channels of communication between my Government and the Indian States. The question of closer relations, as Your Highness is aware, is engaging my consideration.

Your Highness has alluded to changes in the atmosphere of India, changes not peculiar to India but occurring in all parts of the world as a result of evolution following recent events and of the age in which we live. These are times, as Your Highness observes, which call for the constant exercise of experience, guidance and wise statesmanship. I welcome the further opportunity which my present tour affords of studying at first hand the position and importance of the Indian States in the Indian body politic, and of considering what developments the future may have in store for them amid the extensive changes which are now taking place in the social order and political life of the Indian continent. The great body of the subjects of these States turn with implicit faith and traditional loyalty to their rulers for help in their difficulties, and for guidance in these new and shifting conditions. There is no more precious possession than this heritage of trust and attachment. Wise rulers, like Your Highness, take steps to ensure that nothing is left undone on their part to cherish and retain it. In these

changing times it is a source of pleasure to me to have observed on all sides during my stay in Your Highness' capital, evidence that this devotion is a living force in Bhopal, and rests not only on traditional sentiments but on the firm basis of gratitude to Your Highness for your sincere efforts for your people's welfare. I draw these conclusions from many signs, and in particular from the public institutions which I have seen here—buildings that speak for the solicitude of your Government for education, hygiene reform, the relief of suffering and other beneficent activities. Your Highness has referred with feeling and eloquence to the foundation of Constitutional Government which Your Highness laid under illustrious auspices at the time of His Royal Highness' visit. Though not extensive in scope at present the foundations have been well and truly laid, and I know that advance will be made when conditions and the needs of your people call for a more elaborate edifice and for further progress, and I look forward with confidence to the day when the completed structure will be the pride and security of those who dwell in its shelter.

Meanwhile I am gratified to find that Your Highness is so ably supported in your reforms by your sons, all of whom are included in the New Council, and to whose direct charge are committed some of the most important departments of your Government. Your Highness' tribute to me and my Government for our constant efforts to bring the reasonable aspirations of Indian Moslems on the Turkish peace question to the notice of His Majesty's Government, and to keep them informed of Indian Moslem sentiments on this subject, has deeply touched me. I value the appreciation of Your Highness the more highly as it comes from the ruler of the second greatest Mahomedan State in India. I and my Government have sympathized with your co-religionists' feeling through these difficult times and I trust that our desire for a settlement may be fulfilled. On behalf of Her Excellency I thank Your Highness very warmly for your eloquent tribute to her efforts on behalf of the women of India. I know she values most highly this appreciation of her work by one who understands, who has laboured in the same field, who knows the difficulties and shares in all her fears or hopes. It is of great assistance to her to feel that she has in this work the sympathy of the only woman Ruler in India, and of one who has done so much for the women of India herself. I once more thank Your Highness very deeply for your kindness and hospitality. I will now ask Your Highness' guests to join me in drinking

“ Long life, health and prosperity to the Ruler of this State, Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal.”

Delhi University 26th March 1923
The First Convocation

A distinguished and varied gathering was present at the first convocation of Delhi University held this afternoon in the Assembly Hall at Delhi. In addition to the gorgeous purple and gold robes of the Chancellor (Lord Reading), Pro-Chancellor (Sir M. Shafi), Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Gour), and officers of the University, there were 300 registered graduates, and the members of the Court and of the Executive Council. There were also several ladies who have taken degrees of the University. The members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State mustered strong.

The Chancellor was received by the officers of the University, and conducted in a long and gorgeously robed procession to the dais. On either side of him were seated the Pro-Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. The first item was the conferment of honorary degrees. Sir Mohammad Shafi, as Pro-Chancellor, presented His Excellency the Chancellor with the honorary degree of LL.D. The Chancellor returned the compliment by conferring the same degree on the Pro-Chancellor.

Dr. Gour was then invested with the degree of Doctor of Literature by the Chancellor.

His Excellency the Chancellor said: I am glad that it has fallen to my lot to attend in an official capacity this inaugural convocation of a University for whose future we all hold a high measure of hope and expectation. Before I pass to other matters I wish to pay a tribute to those whose efforts I know you have in mind to-day, to those whose care and labour have made it possible to hold this convocation. First, I must congratulate the Hon. Sir Mohammad Shafi, who, as Member of the Governor-General's Council in charge of the Department of Education, launched the Delhi University Bill in the Legislature, the fifth successful measure of this nature while he was in charge of this portfolio, guided it through the difficulties of its passage, and saw it safely anchored in the harbour of the statute book at last as Act V of 1922, an Act to establish and incorporate a unitary teaching and residential University at Delhi. I need hardly say that a university which owes its legal existence to his efforts, cordially welcomes him as one of its officers. The power to

create having been obtained it next became necessary to construct the machinery and set it working. This important duty has been discharged with the greatest energy and resource by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Gour, and the machine stands to-day fully equipped for working in a state of high efficiency, with the engines oiled and throbbing to perform their functions. I congratulate him and all those who helped him in this important task.

Before I leave the subject I wish to add that though he is no longer with us, we have not forgotten the labours of Sir Henry Sharp in connection with the University Bill, the provisions by which we are governed and are to govern as a University body owe much in their framing to his great experience and scrupulous care, and the kind reception which the Legislature gave to the Bill was to no small extent due to the fervent advocacy and technical knowledge he brought to bear on it.

When the decision was made to transfer the headquarters of the Governor-General and the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi, the establishment of a university at the Imperial Capital formed an integral portion of the scheme, and I think rightly, for in my opinion it is impossible to conceive of this Imperial Capital city of India without the necessary adornment and adjunct of a university. It would be difficult to imagine a Governor-General, a member in charge of the portfolio of Education and the Education Department of the Government of India exercising their ultimate responsibility for the moral and intellectual progress of the vast population on India in complete isolation from any visible and practical expression of the highest influence for intellectual and moral culture. Quite apart from the special aspects of the case connected with the Imperial Capital the Governor-General and the Government of India, there were other reasons of general cogency warranting the establishment of a university at this centre. In the north-west portion of India we had three Provinces with a population numbering more than thirty millions and with only one university to serve them. It was apparent that the responsible authorities of the University of the Punjab were faced with an almost insolvable problem in extending the blessings of higher education in an area and amid a population of this magnitude. Their special difficulties, it was anticipated, would in no small measure be lightened and overcome by the scheme for the establishment of a university at Delhi, in the south-western portion of this tract. In Delhi also four colleges were already

in existence. There was, and still is, reason to hope, though difficulties of finance may cause delay in fulfilment, that many institutions most valuable to Delhi as a centre of learning, research and culture would spring up in the new capital. I refer to institutions such as museums, libraries, central research institutes and the like. Already in the capital area Sir Aurel Stein's collection provides material to study the history and civilization of a dynasty which but for his intrepid spirit of travel and discovery would have remained a sealed book to the students. No less inspiring are the older associations which surround us.

In the vestiges of former kingdoms and empires we see at Delhi on all sides, there is priceless material for those who wish to learn of the past, of its art, its history, its literature and its civilization. If environment has, indeed, its alleged influence, the Delhi University should produce scholars, for around it are abundant signs of the scholarships of the past ages, and our students will walk in the cloisters where the feet of other scholars in other centuries have trod. History is there for the reading on the face of the country. From Kila Rai Prithora, which holds the visible remains of the old Hindu kingdoms and from the Asoka pillars, a chain of monuments of the successive Mahomedan dynasties lead us to the beginning of British Rule. The libraries of Humayun and Dara Shikoh still exist to remind us that literature was the pastime and pleasure of Emperors and of their sons. The tomb of the Chisti Saint at Nizam ud din Aulia marks the honour which the past paid to great students of divinity and religious teachers. Nor is science unrepresented. In the centre of our new capital the periphery of Jai Singh's Observatory rears its fantastic shape and records the progress attained by him in observing the movements of the planetary bodies in the hemispheres nearly three hundred years ago.

We may also hope for such healthy stimulus at Delhi from communications with the learned men of other countries in the future. There is scarcely a traveller of distinction in the world on a visit to India who omits to make a sojourn at Delhi. It is here they hope to study the evolutions of the past and to examine the nerve centre of a new and changing India. I look forward to the day when they will find in our University a peaceful and congenial atmosphere of knowledge and friendly help that will enable them to progress with the particular subject of study, and I know how much we may expect to gain from communion with them. I wish now to sound a note more personal to myself.

From the shelves of my library a number of volumes look down on me styled "Convocation Addresses." They preserve for me and my successors the history of a long connection of Governor-Generals with the Calcutta University. I welcome, and I know that my successors will welcome, the continuation of the opportunity which each succeeding Convocation of our new university here in the new capital will give to appraise moral and intellectual development in India. The political expansion, the administrative development, the material well-being and progress of India are the daily concern of the Governor-General. His time is engaged in dealing with them. He has frequent occasions of reviewing achievement and of speaking or making pronouncements on these subjects. Moral and intellectual progress, however, is more subtle and is less insistent as part of his common round and daily task, but it is well to pause and think, as the Governor-General will, and must, where India is tending in the moral and intellectual spheres, for without progress in this direction his efforts for the increasing material prosperity of the people of India and their more complete self-expression in the government of the country must largely fail. By statute I, as Governor-General, am the head of this University; but by virtue of the honorary degree which you have conferred on me to-day I am now in a more intimate and permanent way connected with this University. In the latter capacity I desire to express a hope. We shall welcome Knowledge with open arms when she comes to our portals; we shall lead her in and invite her to make her home in the temple we have prepared for her, but let us not make the mistake of forgetting her more bashful sister, Wisdom, who may linger outside unthought of unless we seek for her. For knowledge and learning alone will not make the sum total that our alumni should take away with them at the close of their studies from the University of Delhi. We wish them to acquire wisdom and character, which are concomitants in the old universities of the pursuit of knowledge and learning. We would have them go out into India, not only adorned with learning and replete with knowledge, but possessing those less easily acquired and more intangible qualities of the cultured mind, good judgment, wise utterance, and strong character which go to build the success of a nation and an Empire.

One more word. You know we are passing through difficult times financially. Do not be disheartened or discouraged if lack of funds prevents for a time in this University more rapid

expansion and perfection on which you may have set your hearts. I am afraid that for some time to come the Delhi University must be a poor University. You should not on that account lose confidence or enthusiasm for its future. Rapid growth is not necessarily the soundest form of growth, and eminence in academic study is not the monopoly of only the well-endowed and well-equipped institutions. Have trust, and, in spite of obstacles; persevere in your keen efforts for progress. Have courage, and, in spite of difficulties, determine to overcome them. Your success, when attained, will be the more meritorious. May your University flourish, long may its success endure, and may its fame enhance the glory of the historic city of Delhi.

*Lady Reading Hospital. Meeting at Simla
on 15th June 1923*

To meet the medical needs of the Indian women and children in Simla and the surrounding districts and other parts of India, Her Excellency the Countess of Reading laid the foundation stone this evening at Bairdville, a healthy and spacious site, of the Lady Reading Hospital for women and children. The ceremony was witnessed by a large, distinguished and representative gathering, including the Governor of the Punjab and many high officials and leading residents of Simla. The hospital is designed in the beginning to provide fifty to sixty beds with up-to-date equipment and an efficient staff. It is well endowed out of the Lady Reading Women of India Fund to meet the immediate requirements.

Sir Mahammad Shafi in requesting Her Excellency to lay the foundation stone of an institution of incalculable benefit to the women and children of Simla, paid a glowing tribute to Her Excellency's unceasing care and attention to institutions maintained for the welfare of Indian women. He detailed several measures taken in the past for medical relief provided hitherto for Indian women in the summer capital. During the last fifteen years Lady Minto, Lady Hardinge and Lady Chelmsford, every Governor of the Punjab and every medical officer had been very anxious for the early establishment of a separate institution for Indian women in a private situation, but hitherto difficulties, including that of a suitable site, had stood in the way. It was left to Lady Reading to announce that she had resolved to carry through the proposal of making a free gift to the town of Simla of a model up-to-date women's hospital, within as short

a period as it was possible to raise funds and select a site. "It is," concluded Sir Mahammad Shafi, "through Her Excellency's deep interest in the welfare of Indian women and her remarkable energy that a consummation so long overdue and so anxiously desired during a period of fifteen years has at last been brought about."

The Countess of Reading, in laying the foundation stone said : "I hope this hospital, which I am proud to think will bear my name and of which I am now going to lay the foundation stone, may prove a blessing to Simla and her surroundings, and I fervently hope that it may be able to alleviate some of the sufferings of Indian women and children."

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at the same ceremony, said : "Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of Her Excellency I wish to express to you the pleasure she has experienced in taking part in this ceremony to-day. I need not recapitulate to you the various proposals which have been under discussion during apparently the last fifteen years before this project could actually be brought to fruition. Sir Mahammad Shafi has told you this history.

The object of the work of Her Excellency and her committee in connection with this hospital is to provide suitable hospital accommodation for the poorest Indian women of Simla and the surrounding districts, and for those more affluent women who come to Simla and who wish to secure hospital accommodation suitable to their needs. Of course, a first essential is that the hospital should be in a healthy climate. The very object of founding a hospital in Simla is that it should be in as healthy a climate as can be found in India. There was a great need for a hospital in such a climate, as all medical practitioners in India who have attended Indian women have long recognized. The institution, of which the foundation stone has now been laid, will meet that need and also provide accommodation for sick children in order that they may have the special care and treatment they require.

Moreover the hospital will also provide an admirable training school for Indian nurses, a very desirable aim which Her Excellency is most anxious to see brought to real success in India.

There were many difficulties to overcome and, of course, the first is always the matter of finding funds. We could scarcely expect the Simla Municipality to provide the money for the building and the equipment and maintenance of a hospital of this character, which has only primarily been designed for the

benefit of Indian women at Simla, but has also as a chief object the treatment of Indian women from all parts of India. The money has fortunately been provided by liberal assistance out of the Women of India Fund founded by Her Excellency.

This fund has been subscribed by the princes and people of India not only for this purpose be it observed, but also to help generally in other places and other directions, the women and children of India.

I note in passing that this Fund has quite recently provided a handsome donation towards the Lady Hardinge College in order to help it and has also founded at Delhi the Indian Nursing Association with the Lady Reading nurses, who have already been able to do such good work during the terrible plague epidemic recently prevailing at Delhi. I will not trouble you with statistics, but I must say, that on seeing the percentages of deaths among those assisted by the care of those nurses as compared with the number of deaths of those deprived of such services, I was immensely struck by the good work that those nurses must have done.

The cost of the site of the building and of the equipment has been met from Her Excellency's Women of India Fund, and, in addition, Her Excellency, who is always businesslike, determined that there should be a permanent income sufficient to start it in its present requirements. She has accordingly endowed the hospital with a sum of Rs. 3 Lakhs so that from the interest on that money there may be substantial annual funds to help to carry on the work. Her efforts have been supplemented by the Simla Municipality who have shown a very commendable interest in this project by undertaking to provide Rs. 12,000 annually towards its upkeep.

From this provision you will observe that the institution starts well. Example is always better than precept, and I trust there will be other public bodies and other private persons who may be minded to emulate those who have already contributed, and that as time proceeds there will be more money available and Her Excellency and those who come after her will be able to extend the beneficent activities inaugurated here.

Another of the difficulties was the situation of the site. Her Excellency and those associated with her have visited several sites and in the end they selected this. It is obvious that a hospital of this character must not be too far from the town and the railway station, it must not be too far from the main road, it must be situated in airy, spacious and healthy surroundings,

it must be capable of expansion and, above all, there must be the capacity to provide that privacy which is so necessary to Indian women. Now, this site fulfils all these requirements and I think we may congratulate Her Excellency on the success of the locality on which her choice has fallen. There is the existing house we have just seen which will make an excellent nurses' hostel with some rooms for administration and also maids. There is ample ground on the estate, which can be efficiently adapted for a block for surgical and maternity cases with up-to-date surgical theatres, for family wards and necessary outbuildings. The total accommodation for the present is designed to provide between fifty and sixty beds, which will be expanded as and when funds permit and when experience warrants it. I have been taken into confidence in regard to the equipment and staffing and am assured, and may assure you, that everything will be of the high water-mark of excellence and efficiency. From a long experience I may be permitted to observe that if there are any defects that escape Her Excellency's observation, then these are not visible to the naked human eye.

Now that I have told you of all that is to happen I may remind you that this is one of the first fruits of Her Excellency's Women of India Fund. I feel that this building should make a special appeal to us all, for it is a step onward in the great field of labour awaiting the efforts of those with the interests of the women of India at heart. I am glad to be able to announce that just before starting for this ceremony a telegram was received from Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, stating: "Her Highness wishes to subscribe Rs. 40,000 for one two-bedded ward. Kindly announce." It is an auspicious occasion for us on starting out to receive this telegram and it once again evinces the deep interest that Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal takes in the women and children of India. I should also like to mention that an American lady and gentleman, who were here and who heard of Her Excellency's project, were so enamoured of it that at considerable cost they insisted upon sending to the hospital a complete set of surgical instruments of a most excellent and up-to-date description, and I need not assure you that we are very grateful to them for it. I congratulate Her Excellency, the members of her committee and all those associated with her in this work, as well as those whose donations have made the work possible, on the inauguration at to-day's ceremony of this hospital and of the great prospect of beneficent work for which it stands.

INDIANS IN KENYA

*Lord Reading's Speech at Simla on 21st July 1923
in Reply to a Delegation of 15 Non-Official Members
of the Council of State.*

The views you have expressed to me are a powerful presentment of Indian opinion by Councillors of State whose sobriety of judgment and sense of responsibility I have learnt to value and respect. The occasion of your interview with me is unusual, inasmuch as your Chamber is still in session, but I appreciate your reasons for wishing to place your opinions before me by this means in order that I may communicate them to His Majesty's Government before they reach the final stage in their consideration of the Kenya problem. I am, however, greatly embarrassed in discussing the situation with you, as, indeed, you have shown you are well aware from your address to me, and I readily acknowledge your desire not to place me and my Government in a more difficult position than is inevitable in the present conditions. At the moment of addressing you I do not know whether His Majesty's Government has reached a decision, and, if it has, what are its terms. My Government has quite lately been consulted upon certain points at issue, and has made representations in reply to the Secretary of State. I much regret, therefore, that I cannot speak to you with the freedom and frankness I should wish, and that I cannot enter into discussion with you regarding the negotiations which have been, and, as far as I am aware, may still be proceeding. It has been publicly known for some time that a decision of His Majesty's Government will be announced in a very few days, and it is, therefore, not surprising that prophecies and rumours should reach you, although I am not aware of the exact form they have taken or of the information upon which they are based. It is, natural, therefore, that your anxiety to obtain some forecast of the probable terms of His Majesty's Government's decision should be as keen as the intensity of interest in this problem among those who influence responsible Indian thought.

I wish I were able to give you some indication of the probable conclusions of His Majesty's Government, but, as I have already explained to you, that is impossible at this moment. I can only say to you that the Imperial Government is fully conscious of the importance to Imperial interests of the issues raised. You rightly observe that you need not elaborate to me the state of public feeling in India upon the question. We have been

aware of it from the first, and immediately made communications upon it to His Majesty's Government. We have realized that it is not merely conditions in Kenya that were at issue, but that in certain aspects of the problems raised Kenya has come to be regarded in India as the test of the sincerity of the British advocacy and acceptance of the principle of equality of treatment of Indians with citizens from other parts of the Empire, the principle formally recorded in a resolution at the Imperial Conference of 1921, and of such far-reaching importance that it bound His Majesty's Government as also those Dominions which subscribed to it. It was a just recognition recorded with due solemnity of the claims advanced by India.

You will realize that the solution of the Kenya problem is not so easy as at first sight appears to those who regard it from one side only. I am sure that you yourselves have understood at least some of the difficulties which have presented themselves to His Majesty's Government. Difficulties frequently occur in the application of accepted principles to concrete facts. I do not believe for one moment that His Majesty's Government, with whom the decision rests, will fail to act upon the principle accepted in 1921. His Majesty's Government are charged with the responsibility of administering the Colony. They have a paramount duty to its African inhabitants who are by far the largest community. Equally they are under an obligation, with due regard to their position as trustees for the African, to protect the interests of other communities. His Majesty's Government have never failed to recognize that they must act with justice to all communities, including Indians and Europeans. From all I have gathered from the Press and elsewhere, I have observed that during the discussion and negotiations proceeding in London, the opinion was gradually evolved and publicly expressed that in the present condition of the African population it would be unwise to make further advance at present towards responsible self-government. If this should be His Majesty's decision, and as a result Kenya would remain a Crown Colony, I think this conclusion should be cordially welcomed by India. It should give them greater securities for the protection of their interests and of their rights of citizenship.

There is one other aspect of this problem which is of momentous Imperial interest. Proposals have been advanced with great persistence and ability for a law which would, in effect, shut out Indians from immigration into Kenya. I find it difficult to believe that His Majesty's Government would be party to

such discrimination in a Crown Colony. I refuse to accept the notion that His Majesty's Government would agree to a proposal which would, it appears to me, run wholly contrary to the general policy of the Imperial Government. But I must refrain from further discussion as it is dangerous at this moment. I must ask of you at present to rest content in the knowledge that the views you have stated to me to-day are in substance those we have persistently submitted to His Majesty's Government as the opinion of India. That they are presented by you to-day gives added weight to them. I wish I could put all the facts before you. You would then realize that my Government have been in full sympathy with the general views of the Indian community, that it has never wavered in the representation of them to His Majesty's Government, that it has acted as the spokesman and advocate of Indian opinion and sentiment. In this connection, let me remind you that in my council we have had the benefit of Indian colleagues sitting with us, not only assisting us with their wisdom and judgment, but reflecting to us the intensity of the sentiments of India on those great Imperial questions. Sir Narasimha Sarma is the head of the department that has had charge of the subject, and those of you who know him well will recognize that it could not have been in abler or more patriotic hands.

You have referred to the powerful influences that have been brought to bear upon His Majesty's Government and public opinion in England against the legitimate claims of India. We should, however, remember that powerful influences have been continuously exerted in support of India, and specially we should remember that throughout the long and difficult discussions we have had the full support of Mr. Montagu and, after his resignation, of Lord Peel, who has been in active communication with me and my Government throughout this critical period. At one period after Lord Peel had become Secretary of State, we thought a decision had been arrived at which involved some compromise, but which was acceptable to us as a Government. It is not open to me to discuss its details with you at this moment. Unfortunately the compromise never became effective, but this certainly was not due to any failure or omission of the India Office, for every effort was made on behalf of it by Lord Winterton, acting under the instructions of Lord Peel. I would ask you to reserve your judgment upon this and other questions relating to it and not to come to premature conclusions upon rumours or prophecies which are not founded upon accurate or

official information. You may rely upon your representations being communicated forthwith to His Majesty's Government, where, I trust, and indeed I am confident, they will receive that consideration which is due to representations made by members of the Council of State at a critical moment and on so serious a subject.

In order to express the sense of gratitude to Lord Reading and his Government for their efforts in bringing the Turkish peace negotiations to a successful conclusion twenty-five Moslem members of the Indian Legislature waited on the Viceroy this evening (26th July).

In their address, read by Syed Raza Ali, the members of the deputation said :

Ten months ago, almost to a day, Your Excellency was pleased to grant us, the Moslem members of the Indian Legislature, an interview in which we placed before Your Excellency our views on the Turkish and Khilafat questions. Indeed, the general interest evinced by Your Excellency ever since you assumed charge of your high office and the thorough and uniform care taken by the Government of India and Lord Chelmsford to place the Indian Moslem view-point before His Majesty's Government, inspired us with the hope in September last, when the pro-Greek attitude of the then British Premier was creating a crisis in the Near East, that the only constitutional way open to us of successfully helping our Turkish co-religionists was to approach the representative of our august sovereign. It is our pleasant duty to acknowledge that that hope has been realized. We have assembled here to-day to express our deep sense of gratitude to Your Excellency and the Government of India on the signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty. The part played by Your Excellency and the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu who, we are sorry to note, is no longer a member of the Cabinet, will be gratefully remembered by us and future generations.

Throughout a period of stress and storm Your Excellency never allowed your sense of true statesmanship to be influenced by the passing events of the day. The telegram of the 28th February, 1922, which embodied the views of the Provincial Governments, including the ministers, showed how rightly Your Excellency's Government had gauged the real situation. Its publication was followed by the forced resignation of Mr. Montagu which gave a shock to our community no less than to the rest of our countrymen. Good, however, cometh out of evil. The event went a long way in dispelling the atmosphere of

distrust and suspicion in which a large section of our co-religionists were working, and they began to realize that, whatever might be the attitude of the British Cabinet, Your Excellency's Government had wholeheartedly undertaken to champion our cause. We realize that the disappearance of Mr. Montagu from Whitehall must have thrown the whole burden on Your Excellency and your Government. It is most fortunate that India had, at this critical time, as the head of the Government a statesman of Your Excellency's sympathetic imagination, strong will and wide experience. The chequered course of events at Lausanne has at times been the cause of great anxiety, but we have reason to believe that during all this period of high tension Your Excellency's Government has never relaxed its efforts.

Your Excellency is aware of the high respect and admiration which the Moslem world entertains for Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, whose wonderful genius has brought a glorious victory to the Turkish arms, but if there is one lesson to be taken from history more than another it is that military victory, unless followed by true statesmanship, snatches away from the hand of the victor the fruit of the victory. We rejoice to think that the Turkish hero combines in himself the qualities of a great general and of a true statesman in a remarkable degree. The attitude of the Turkish Government under his guidance encourages us to hope that Turkey and Britain, who, for reasons into which it is unnecessary to enter on this joyous occasion, have not been on friendly terms for some years, will realize the mutual advantages of the friendly understanding ripening into an Anglo-Turkish entente. The two nations have nothing to gain by harbouring distrust or raising difficulties in the way of each other. The interest of England lies in befriending the Moslem countries, foremost among which stands the rejuvenated Turkey, Afghanistan, and Persia. We are confident England will ensure not only the peace of Asia, but will also secure the blessing of peace to the rest of the world.

The text of the Treaty is not available yet. Even if we knew its terms in full we should be extremely reluctant on an occasion so auspicious as this to raise the voice of criticism or to strike a discordant note. There is, however, one matter affecting purely the religious beliefs of our community which we feel we should not be doing our duty in passing over. It is the question of control over the Jezairat-ul-Arab, as defined by the Moslem divines. Our co-religionists have been following with the closest interest the attitude of England towards that question. The

recent announcement of British policy inspires us with the hope that at no distant date the whole of the Jezairat-ul^{le}Arab will be entirely relieved of foreign control. Before we conclude we desire to express once more our grateful thanks to Your Excellency for all you and your Government have done in bringing the Turkish question, so near and dear to our hearts, to a successful conclusion. We further feel that we should be guilty of a serious omission if we did not associate with Your Excellency the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, during whose Premiership it is gratifying to note the difficult, laborious and gratifying negotiations at Lausanne were given a turn that culminated in a peace satisfactory to the contracting parties. We pray Your Excellency to convey our grateful thanks to the Prime Minister. We also appreciate the conciliatory attitude displayed by Lord Curzon during the progress of the negotiations.

It is a happy augury that the peace concluded at Lausanne has come on the auspicious day of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and this happy news reached us yesterday when we were commemorating the anniversary of the sacrifice offered by the great Prophet Abraham. May the sacrifices made by an erring humanity during the last ten years ensure it from future strife.

The Viceroy, whose speech was repeatedly applauded, said that when the news was received that agreement had been reached at Lausanne the Government sent a telegram to the Secretary of State expressing gratification at the successful result of the negotiations.

Continuing, Lord Reading said: The sentiments which you, the Mahomedan members of the Indian Legislature, have expressed to me to-day have more than confirmed the accuracy of our prophecy and abundant evidence of rejoicing and gratification among the Moslems of India has reached and continues to reach us from all sides. The peace was actually signed on the 24th of July, but the news only became generally known yesterday, that is on the 25th, and the fact that these joyful tidings reached the Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in India on their Id day is a coincidence of specially happy augury.

I need not travel over the past history of our anxieties regarding the situation in the Near East, and the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, for you know the history as well as I do. From the outset my predecessor, Lord Chelmsford and his Government, made it their care to keep His Majesty's Government acquainted, through the Secretary of State, with the feelings of the Moslems of India on this subject, and you have shown from your address

that you are fully appreciative of the persistent support which Mr. Montagu gave to him, and later to me. You also know that it has throughout been my aim and that of my Government in like manner to bring the views of responsible Moslem opinion in India clearly and forcibly before, first, Mr. Montagu and later Lord Peel. For my part I have cherished it as my privilege and considered it my duty to obtain consideration of the aspirations of Indian Moslems, and to urge their fulfilment as far as they appeared to be just and reasonable. The successive Secretaries of State for India warmly and strenuously supported my efforts in this direction, and I have from time to time received repeated assurances from His Majesty's Government that they would not fail to give due weight to the representations received from India in so far as they were compatible with justice and with their obligation to their Allies and to other nations.

The multitude of interests involved, however, rendered a settlement acceptable to all nations concerned a matter of great complexity and difficulty, and there were times during the progress of negotiations when our expectations of reaching an agreement sank, when the prospects of a settlement appeared on the point of vanishing and when the situation caused the gravest apprehension. But in spite of this, in the words of the poet, that "if hopes were dupes fears may be liars," and my confidence and the encouragement I have been able to give to the various deputations which have approached me from time to time, I am thankful to say, have not been falsified. Throughout the difficult days of Turkey's estrangement from us, I and my Government have sympathized with the feelings of your co-religionists in the perplexities which events in the Great War brought into being for them. Those days have now ended. The British Government and the Angora Government are at peace. It is our hope that the peace may be long enduring. Before the late rupture ties of gratitude bound the Turks in friendship to the British Empire and on more than one occasion the influences and forces of Britain were arrayed to protect them from powerful enemies. It is not too much to hope that time may obliterate the memory of their recent estrangement from us, and that peace may engender the re-birth in new strength of those cordial relations which once prevailed. Recent embarrassments for a time dimmed the lustre of the loyalty and attachment which bound the Indian Moslems to the British Crown, but I am confident that henceforth the old traditions will shine forth with renewed light and vigour.

*Lord Reading's Speech at the Hotel Cecil, Simla,
at a Dinner in Honour of His Excellency given
by the Chelmsford Club 17th October 1923*

I am glad of this opportunity of again meeting the members of the Chelmsford Club, and am especially grateful for the warm welcome you have extended to me. It was a happy inspiration of this Club to provide this social gathering, to refresh and encourage me upon the second half of my period of office. I thank Sir Mahammad Shafi for the graceful and eloquent terms in which he rapidly reviewed the march of events and for his more than kindly personal reference to myself, and especially for his appreciation of such service as I may have been able to render in the noble cause of peace. I trust that his anticipations of the beneficial effects of the peace with Turkey will prove as fully justified in the future as his valuable counsel to me on Moslem aspirations and sentiments has often proved in the past. I should ill-repay you if I indulged in a long political speech this evening, but nevertheless I should not adequately convey my obligation to the Club if I did not make some observations upon some aspects of the political situation.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

You, Sir Mahammad, have referred to the new duties of a Viceroy under the present constitutional régime and have truly said that these involve responsibilities additional to those hitherto placed upon his shoulders. It is, however, not altogether without envy that I look back upon the activities of past Viceroys in the region of the social welfare of the people, when I recall that such vastly important subjects as education, sanitation and public health have been transferred to Provincial Governments, and that my opportunities of service in this direction are restricted. I have my consolation in the new duties which have been to me of supreme interest. Ever since my appointment it has been my special charge to assist and guide India to the best of my ability to further progress in parliamentary institutions.

During the first period of my Viceroyalty we have had to encounter some serious difficulties, but fortunately they have in the main been surmounted. We must not, however, too readily assume that these may not recur though probably in different forms. I earnestly trust that nothing will happen to check the constitutional march forward; but it must be remembered that India's progress will depend mainly upon the

co-operation of the people and the impression produced upon the British Government when the reforms again come before them for consideration. There are occasions when I wonder whether those aspects always remain present to the minds of some who are among the representatives of various shades of Indian political thought. To those who desire the advancement of India along the road mapped out for her, these considerations should be of supreme importance. I do not need to remind those who regretted the manifestations of 1921-22 of the effects produced upon the British people. The ensuing years between now and 1929 will be of vast moment to the friends of constitutional government. For this reason, although while deprecating them, I am by no means inclined to regard them too seriously, I cannot view with complete unconcern the various suggestions and proposals that have formed the subject of discussion, indicating action that may be adopted when the newly-elected Legislative Assembly commences its sessions. Doubtless much is said and planned in time of stress and excited controversy regarding future events which may not commend itself in calmer periods. Nevertheless, it may be useful to pause for a moment and to consider quietly and temperately the consequences if the threatened storm cloud did make its appearance and failed to disperse in the serener atmosphere it would meet in its journey.

WARNING TO CONSTITUTION WRECKERS

I refer to the subject to-night because I wish to impress upon those who really cherish the cause of Reforms the necessity of avoiding any course which may encourage those—if there be any—who enter the Assembly for the purpose of wrecking the Constitution. If this purpose should exist and be pursued to its end—and let us for a moment assume—with the full measure of success desired, it would achieve at its highest realization a paralysis of the Reformed Constitution. Please do not misunderstand me. I do not believe that it will happen, for I am convinced that there will be too great a sense of responsibility in the Assembly to permit it, but if it did, every true friend of Indian progress in parliamentary institutions could not fail to deplore it. Here, indeed, would be a check in the onward march, a severe blow would be dealt in India at the Reforms. And what will be gained? I do not pause further to analyse the possible situation; but I must add that even if the crisis did arise, it certainly would not paralyse Government, for you may rest assured that we shall be prepared to meet the situation.

The Government of the country will be continued, the administration will be carried on as before, save that the Reformed Constitution will be in abeyance. If this should happen I leave you to imagine the effect upon the British people and their representatives in Parliament and upon those who have persistently striven for the institution of representative Government.

EMPIRE EXHIBITION : BOYCOTT PROPOSALS

In this connection I would also draw attention to the proposals for India's withdrawal from the Empire Exhibition and for the boycott of British goods. I am well aware of the wave of strong feeling that caused many public men to express themselves emphatically and even vehemently upon the Kenya decision of the Imperial Government. My Government's views are well known ; they have been published, and there is nothing to add to the opinion then formulated. We analyzed the result of the White Paper and sought to balance our gains and losses, comparing the results of the final decision with those of the original pronouncement. I cannot but think that in the public agitation too scant attention has been paid to the gains which are by no means inconsiderable as we demonstrated in the Government Resolution. Since the decision we have been in communication with the Secretary of State and in the result we have received from him, in relation to the future rules affecting immigration, that when the proposals have been submitted to the Colonial Office, the Secretary of State will be consulted and will give us the fullest opportunity to represent our views before he makes reply. You may be certain that the Government of India realize the vital importance of the immigration question. But I am troubled by these boycott proposals, not because of the material results that may be achieved, but again because of the effect that will be produced upon the British public and upon Parliament. If India should determine to throw away the money already spent and should refuse the great place allotted to her in the Exhibition, who would be the sufferer ? Certainly not England and the Empire, but India, or rather those parts of India which insist upon withdrawing. A unique opportunity would be lost of bringing India's products to the notice of England and the Empire, of displaying her wonderful resources, and of quickening her development and increasing the welfare of her people. There is nothing to gain by a withdrawal but everything to lose. The cause of Indians overseas surely will not gain in strength by action of this character.

Reliance should rather be placed upon the justice of the cause and the arguments in support of it than upon a course of action which would completely fail in effect. These views equally apply to the proposed boycott of British and Empire goods. Attempts have been made in this direction in the past, and as we know have never succeeded. I do not for a moment believe that any better fate will attend the present venture if it should be pursued. But I do not to-night wish to discuss the prospects of the movement. Whether it fails—as I believe it must—or whether it succeeds, the cause of progress in India will be injured. When passion is aflame, wisdom is often in peril.

THE PURPOSE OF THE BOYCOTT

What is the purpose of these suggested boycotts? As I understand from the speeches delivered, it is to express resentment and indignation or to bring pressure to bear for the improvement of the conditions of Indians overseas and mainly as a manifestation against the Kenya decision. I know my countrymen and have no hesitation in asserting that these boycotts, whether successful or unsuccessful, will completely fail in their intended effect; but they will convey an impression which will certainly not advance the cause of India. I hope none will be misled. I have but one object in mind. It is—if I can—to prevent action which, I fear, must have a prejudicial effect on the interests and the progress of India. Believe me the better course is to trust to the sense of fair play and justice which is so strongly marked a characteristic of the British people.

NABHA STATE

You, Sir Mahammad, have referred to some of the clouds on our political horizon and especially to affairs in the Punjab and to the Hindu-Moslem situation. Interest in the Punjab naturally centres for the moment upon the affairs of Nabha State. I would have preferred to have passed them in silence because of a disinclination to dwell upon unpleasant incidents where the remedy has been applied and is actually in operation. From the outset my Government were anxious to publish only such information as was essential to establish the gravity of the events culminating in the Maharajah's surrender of his ruling powers; and to-night I shall refrain from discussing the details of the charges established. I am happy to say that the relations of myself and of my Government with the Ruling Princes of India are eminently satisfactory. These are regulated

in accordance with well-established principles based upon treaties, sanads and recognized practice, and no difficulty is experienced in adjusting with mutual goodwill any question that may come up for consideration. Recently, however, a comparatively rare incident arose of a serious dispute between the States of Patiala and Nabha which, during 1921 began to exacerbate and rapidly approached a condition of menace to the King's peace. Grave charges were made by the State of Patiala, and particularly of systematic and deliberate perversion of justice, and of sentences based upon fabricated evidence which, if proved, would constitute a scandal of the gravest character. Charges and counter-charges multiplied. Incidents occurred which threatened to develop—if they did not in fact develop—into armed conflict between the subjects of the two States. The King's peace was threatened and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility rests of preserving it, were called upon to act. The facts were complicated; the charges were numerous; the tangled skein was difficult to unravel. Meanwhile the conditions on the borders of the two States could well be described as that of open hostility. The appointment of a special officer was requested. It was obvious that the truth could best be elicited by a judicial officer of high, personal reputation. The Government of India were fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr. Justice Stuart, to whom we are deeply indebted for the care and ability he displayed in pursuing this long and laborious inquiry. It began early in January, proceeded practically without intermission, and the report in its final and complete form was presented on the 14th June. But I had already some few days before become aware of its main conclusions.

THE MAHARAJAH'S ABDICATION

On the 5th June, several days before the report was concluded, the Maharajah of Nabha must already have been informed by his advisors that the conclusions would be adverse to him, for that day on his own initiative he went to Kasauli to see Colonel Minchin the agent to the Governor-General. Colonel Minchin duly reported to the Government of India the interview and the Maharajah's proposals to sever his connection with the administration of the State upon certain conditions. The more important of these were that he should retain his salute and the title of "His Highness," that he should hand over the administration of the State to the Government of India to be conducted as they thought fit in the interests of his son, that the Maharajah should

formally abdicate when his son came of age, that the Maharajah should receive a personal allowance of three lakhs annually from the revenues of the State, and that he would be prepared to pay compensation to Patiala. We gave the proposal most anxious consideration for although we recognized that the Maharajah was now spontaneously making a proposal which, if accepted, would put an end to his rule in the State, it might be preferable to allow the regular procedure to take its course. But we had in mind the urgent necessity of arriving at a speedy decision. Upon the facts as determined, prisoners were languishing in jail, the victims of deliberate injustice and oppression—who should be forthwith released. Reforms in the administration could not brook postponement. My Government agreed to accept His Highness's terms subject to some minor amendments, provided his submission was made immediately and voluntarily. The Maharajah immediately accepted these conditions which were then discussed between the Secretary of State and myself. On the 26th June, the conditions as finally approved were presented to His Highness by Colonel Minchin with the request that the acceptance should now be made in writing. Eventually on the 5th July the Maharajah confirmed a telegram which he had previously sent accepting the terms, and I think that in the circumstances he was well advised.

Thus ended the rule of His Highness in the State of Nabha, It would have been open to the Maharajah to have awaited the considered judgment of the Government and then to have applied to me to appoint a Commission of Enquiry which, as provided by resolution, would ordinarily include a judicial officer and four persons of high status, of whom no less than two would be Ruling Princes. If dissatisfied with the decision of Government he could then appeal to the Secretary of State. This procedure would have been available to His Highness had he not preferred to make terms with the Government of India.

I am told that rumours are being circulated of His Highness' restoration in a short period or in a few years. It is well that there should be no illusions in this respect. His Highness has ceased for all time to rule in Nabha. In due course his son will succeed to the gadi. Meanwhile, the affairs of the State will be restored to order and justice will again prevail.

HINDU-MOSLEM RELATIONS.

I shall not dwell to-night upon the Hindu-Moslem situation ; but it must be apparent that the relations between these two

great communities must tend to keep India back rather than to urge her forward. Violent disturbances of the character that have been too often witnessed lately present a sorry spectacle to the friends of India. Let us hope that better relations will now ensue and that the time may not be far distant when these differences will completely have disappeared. Every true friend of India should assist in composing them and in fostering harmony to take the place of discord where it exists between the Hindu and the Moslem. Every true friend of India should devote his energies to promoting the unity of the various peoples in India to the end that peace may prevail, that happiness may ensue, and that hand-in-hand all the peoples of India may march together on the road of progress.

*Lord Reading's Speech, Lahore, in Reply to Address
from various Committees 22nd October 1923*

Replying to the Lahore Municipality address, the Viceroy said that :

"New opportunities created new obligations. The question of local self-government had been entrusted to ministers of Provincial Legislative Councils. The success of the working of the department depended on the efficiency of municipal committees like that of Lahore, with non-official presidents and elected members. The difficulties which confronted those committees in a municipal sphere were in their more limited scope. On the successful solution of problems of general administration must depend the estimate of capacity of those bodies and their members. Those bodies were entitled to rely on the support of the public whom they represented and this support should be given by them without regard to racial considerations or communal difference. Unless citizens put aside in the public interest those non-individual predilections the chance of success might be prejudiced. All those factors reacted in a serious degree on the progress which India as a whole could make by the gradual development of self-governing institutions towards the progressive realization of responsible Government in British India, an an integral part of the Empire. For the British Parliament, with whom the responsibility rested for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, were to judge the time and manner of India's advance, and their action was to be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom those new opportunities of service had been conferred, and by the extent

to which it was found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

LAHORE DISTRICT BOARD

Replying to the Lahore District Board address, Lord Reading said he was gratified to hear of the loyal assistance rendered by the district in the Great War and deeply appreciated their declaration of their sincere desire to help in the maintenance of peace and good government in the province. The administration looked to enlightened members of the board to correct and contradict false and mischievous rumours, and spread in the rural tracts of the district true aspects of the aims and motives of the Government. The Government relied on them for active support in the suppression of crime and disorder, and they on their part might count on the protection and goodwill of the Provincial Government in this task. He could give them an assurance that the general policy of the Government was to help local bodies in beneficent measures when their resources permitted, provided the local bodies in question had taken every possible step in the direction of financial self-help by the assessment and the collection of local rates, and by economies in administration.

AMRITSAR MUNICIPALITY

In reply to the Amritsar Municipality address the Viceroy appreciated the sense of loyalty and courtesy which prompted them to come to Lahore to present an address. He deeply regretted to learn that commercial prosperity of Amritsar was suffering a temporary check, but hoped there would be a revival of prosperity and that the impediments to the free flow of the interchange of trade would disappear.

Continuing, Lord Reading said: "You have alluded to the rifts in the lute of harmony. I believe your city owes its birth to Guru Ramdas, who preached in his time the doctrine of brotherhood and humility. These teachings hold truth for you now as in the time of your forefathers. Mutual tolerance is for us all one of the sovereign specifics for maladies which from time to time afflict our commonwealth. I rejoice to hear of the signs of returning health, and trust that normal conditions may soon be restored. I am much interested to hear of your municipal activities; your keen sense of obligations towards the welfare of your fellow citizens does you credit. In spite of the financial difficulties to which you refer, I feel assured that you will make

substantial progress in your schemes for the improvement of the amenities of your city, because you are imbued with the proper spirit and with the right angle of view towards your responsibilities. I know that your local Government has deeply appreciated your assistance in the preservation of law and order in Amritsar, and the value of the work of your co-operation which has found recognition in the knighthood which has recently been conferred by the King-Emperor on your energetic and public spirited non-official President."

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the ex-Soldiers' Association of Lahore was as follows:

"Gentlemen, I thank your association very warmly for your kind greetings to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our visit to Lahore, the capital of the martial province of India. It is a great pleasure to me to meet so many members of this association with distinguished service in the field to their credit, and I use no formal phrase when I describe it as a privilege to receive an address from your association, because your objects are worthy of all praise. In the forefront of your charter you have set out the duty of preserving a spirit of devotion and loyalty to the Crown and the Government. In the rising generation you have undertaken to provide recruits for the army for the defence of your country. You have pledged yourselves to watch over the welfare of soldiers' families and to safeguard the interests of discharged and pensioned soldiers. There can be no nobler task than the duty you have placed before you.

"I welcome your declaration that the members of your association range themselves in the support of a just and stable Government. I am aware that even at times at the expense of their popularity, the ex-officers and soldiers of this Province have been of the greatest assistance in the support of law and order, and that the Government can rely on them in the preservation of peace and in the discouragement of mischievous agitation. In the maintenance of this laudable tradition, the assistance of your association will be of the greatest value. Let me assure you of the sincere and abiding interest of my Government in all that concerns the welfare of the serving and pensioned officers and men of the Indian army. Your association can count on their unflinching support and protection at all times.

"I have noted your desire to purchase lands in the Sutlej Valley Canal Colony, and I will bring this to the notice of His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab. I understand that the project has not yet reached a stage where the distribution

of land is in question and that in any case the financial considerations involved are likely to demand in the interests of the taxpayer the disposal of the lands to be irrigated by the project on a strictly commercial basis.

"The education of soldiers' sons is engaging the closest attention of my Government. You are aware of the recent establishment of a Military College at Dehra Dun to prepare Indian students for Sandhurst. The College, I am glad to say, is prospering, and gives promise of fulfilling the hopes my Government entertained for it. The Kitchener College at Delhi and the schools for the children of soldiers at Jullundur and Aurangabad are other aspects of our solicitude for the education of the sons of those who have served in the army. We have hopes that these developments will be of substantial assistance in equipping the sons of our soldiers to take advantage of their new opportunities of service as Commissioned officers of His Majesty the King-Emperor in the Indian army, or of winning a more prominent place in civil life.

"I appreciate your desire to serve in the Legislatures and on public bodies. Such aspirations will always command my sympathy. I note that the Punjab rules for the composition of the Legislative Council provide for the nomination of one member from among the Punjab officers and soldiers of His Majesty's Indian Forces, and to this extent your desires have been met. I can hardly promise you a general extension of this specific concession, but there are other possibilities of nomination which rest not on this special class qualification, but on the recognition of public service and ability. These are qualities in which the articles of your association enable you to make a display and give you an opportunity for proof of capacity. No one could be more gratified than myself if the members of your association can achieve success in this wider sphere. Gentlemen, I thank you again for your kind address, and wish your association all success."

BRITISH TOLERANCE IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS

After replying individually to each address, His Excellency rose again and addressed all four bodies in the following words:

"I cannot part from you to-day without expressing in a few words my pleasure at having received these four addresses to-day. It is specially gratifying to me as the representative of the King-Emperor to find loyal addresses of this nature presented by bodies of standing in the country, of the municipal committees

of Lahore and Amritsar and the district board of Lahore. These symbolize the spirit and character of the present administration in the Punjab and I find special satisfaction in remembering that they are presented to me by persons who are taking an active part in the administration, not always without sacrifice to their popularity or without opposition among certain sections of the community. I was also much touched by the loyalty of the Indian Officers' Association—men who have passed their lives in the service of the King-Emperor, and risked themselves for him, and who are ready if need be to return to his service. I will now give a message from myself, at the present time the head of the Government of India. Whatever you may hear, whatever you may be told, the British Government in India stands for absolute tolerance in religious matters. It rests on the fundamental rock of respect for religious beliefs and rites. The British administration does not interfere with the exercise of religion, but works to retain its freedom to all and liberty in carrying out its practice without hindrance or molestation. At the same time it is its duty to preserve peace if it should be threatened or endangered by disturbances among different sections of the people. Remember the personality of the Governor whom you have at the head of your provincial administration and who guides the officers of Government. He is justly respected as one who has the widest human sympathies, and who has ever striven to enter into and understand the views of the people of this Province. Let me add that it would be strange if I, the present Viceroy, would ever encourage the persecution or even countenance the restriction of the religious liberties of any community, and specially of a small community. Such a course could never be adopted by me of all men. It could never, I may add, come into being under any Viceroy appointed by the King-Emperor."

*Lord Reading's Speech at the Opening of the
Extension of the High Court Buildings
at Lahore 23rd October 1923*

I am grateful to you for the eloquent references to myself as Viceroy and former Lord Chief Justice of England. I would I could attribute to them the value of a judicial pronouncement, but sheer modesty compels me to regard your address as the unique occasion when the Chief Justice of the High Court of the Punjab has allowed the zeal of the advocate to disturb the

equilibrium of the scales of justice. You have rightly observed that this morning's ceremony is one of special interest to me. I am in a familiar atmosphere. Old associations of the Bench and Bar crowd around me. I see gathered together members of the profession in which I have spent many years of my life, and which will always hold a special attraction for me. I see you, Sir Shadi Lal, in the place you daily occupy to dispense justice. Let me congratulate both the Lahore Bench and the Bar on the possession of the eminent lawyer who has been a Judge of the Court for ten years, and its Chief Justice since the 1st May, 1920. None will, I am sure, dispute the proposition that he is in every respect a worthy successor of the distinguished members of the court whose names shine forth in its annals, and that its traditions of justice are safe in his keeping.

In this gathering to-day I am among friends. I have been fortunate to make the previous acquaintance of a number of the Judges of the Court. From among the members of the Bar, Sir Mahammad Shafi is intimately associated with me as a valued member of my Executive Council, and as the member in charge of my law department. I see also several members of the Imperial Legislature before me. Both the ministers of Sir Edward Maclagan's Government also belong to the Lahore Bar and apart from its eminent lawyers and politicians, this Bar has the distinction of possessing as a practising member, Sir Mahomed Iqbal, the celebrated Urdu and Persian poet.

THE ROAD TO PROGRESS

I wish to associate myself with the Chief Justice in his tribute to His Excellency, Sir Edward Maclagan, and his Government for their assistance in enabling the execution of this addition to the court buildings I am privileged to open to-day. The need for suitably housing Courts of Justice is now firmly if sometimes tardily established in every civilized country as a primary duty of the administration. We men of the law are sometimes accused of attaching undue importance to the sanctity and dignity of the law. I will, however, justify my contention that the law courts deserve to be properly equipped and housed by a reference to that refuge of all lawyers, an authority. In this case I will quote an authority whom none can accuse of sentimentality or prejudice or of leniency. I turn to a learned doctor who never minced his words. Dr Johnson says the law is the last result of human wisdom acting on human experience for the good of the public. One of the principal parts of human felicity arises from

a wise and impartial administration of justice. Every man reposes in the tribunals of his country, the stability of profession and the serenity of life. He goes on to decry those who by any act or neglect detract from the dignity of the courts of justice ; and describes them as not only doing an injury to those who dispense the laws, but diminishing the public confidence in the laws themselves and shaking the foundations of public tranquillity. In the face of this denunciation I tremble for the temerity of the opinion of those, if they exist, who would lodge the blind lady with the scales in a hovel or a garret. I would that these wise words might be pondered and taken to heart by those who preach and incite the practice of a non-observance of the law, who forget that in the law is vested the felicity of their fellow men, the security of life and the foundation of public tranquillity in India. It is only by respect for the law and with the help of the law's protection that India can advance on the road to a wider realization of herself and to the great place awaiting her in the Empire.

DELAYS IN THE COURTS

Sir Shadi Lal, you have alluded to the increase of work in the court and to the new directions in which, as a result of the general progress of the Punjab and its new commercial and other activities, litigation is expanding. After my arrival in India, when there had been time to make an examination, I was deeply impressed with the delays occurring under the present system in the administration of civil justice, and especially in the recovery of the fruits of a decree by execution. These defects attracted my attention through the complaints of commercial bodies, through observations of the Privy Council in cases coming before them, through observations with members of the judiciary and the legal profession and through actual instances coming to my notice in the routine of the administration. The flaw seemed to me not due to any want of energy or capacity in the courts, but the growth of complexity in the system the courts have to administer. It appeared to me that the ends of justice stood in some danger of being hampered and enslaved by the formalities of the law itself.

I need not lay stress on the deplorable results which might follow such a process. It is a stage through which the administration of the law inevitably passes and has passed at different periods in England. In more modern times steps have been taken in England to speed up machinery of too old-fashioned a

type for present needs, and to simplify the technical processes. I felt it my duty to take all possible steps to purge our Indian administration of justice of the reproach of delays which may amount to a denial of justice. The best apparent method was, if possible, to utilize the experience of an eminent lawyer from England with special knowledge and experience of the methods for acceleration and simplification of civil justice introduced there, and after associating with him a committee of persons from our courts in India versed in Indian procedure and conditions, subject the problem to expert and scientific examination. After consulting the Secretary of State, my Government sought the views of local Governments regarding this proposal, and the suggestion, I am glad to say, has been welcomed by them. In the coming cold weather I hope to set the machinery in motion for the conduct of the inquiry. I feel sure that I may count on the fullest measure of assistance in the inquiry from the Bench and Bar at Lahore.

AN INDIAN BAR

Another matter of special interest to you relates to the Bar in India. In England we have, as you know, a single Bar with one tradition of guidance. In India the Bar has grown up by provinces. Its constitution and practice and the privileges of its component members, the barristers and vakeels of each High Court, vary from province to province. The general question of the creation of an Indian Bar attracted considerable interest among the members of the late Legislative Assembly, and was the subject of no less than three private Bills, and of a number of resolutions and questions. The Bills touched on only one or two aspects of the case which has issues of a very complicated nature. The Government of India, in view of the general interest in the question, have decided to appoint a representative committee to examine the problems involved, and to report on all the features of the case in consultation with the Secretary of State. It has been decided that Sir Edward Chamier should act as chairman. The names of the members were announced this morning. All branches of the profession are represented on the committee which includes judges of High Courts, sessions judges, barristers, vakils and attorneys, and has a substantial Indian element. The committee will assemble next month and commence its enquiry.

In parting from you let me assure you that although I no longer sit on the judicial bench, I have not ceased to administer

justice to the best of my ability. As Viceroy more difficult problems come before me for solution. There are no judicial decisions in books to help me. There are no codes to consult. There are no means of ascertaining facts as in courts of law. Although I have severed direct connection with the courts of justice, I retain, and if possible in an enhanced degree because of the far-reaching consequences of action, the solemn duty of doing justice to all men. The Viceroy should hear all aspects of any question, should be ready to listen to grievances willingly, to remedy them whenever he legitimately can, always regarding with sympathy the difficulties and troubles of the people. In these duties the Viceroy exercises in a wider sphere and with a larger vision the duties of a judge, equally he should act fearlessly, according to the light of his understanding and to the dictates of his conscience.

Lord Reading's Speech at the Lyallpur Agricultural College, on Wednesday 24th October 1923

It is almost incredible that within the memory of many who were present in this hall to-day, the place where Lyallpur now stands was a few years ago the centre of a primeval desert, void of inhabitants except for a few nomad graziers on its borders, inhospitable and unproductive. Thanks to the skill of the Punjab Irrigation engineers and the energy of successive colonization officers, the Lower Chenab Valley has become one of the richest tracts in the Punjab. The Lyallpur district, where a few years ago the desert held its sway, has now nearly a million prosperous inhabitants, and its produce in cotton, wheat and oil seeds is bartered for in the markets of the world. To this prosperity the work of the Punjab agricultural department has contributed in no small measure, and it is eminently fitting that its chief experimental station and college have been erected here. I have listened to Mr. Brownlie's address with no common interest. Let me congratulate the officers of the department on the fine work—in my estimation of incalculable importance for India—they have done in connection with wheat and cotton, and I desire specially to congratulate Mr. Roberts and Mr. Milne for their valuable work in this connection.

THE PUNJAB'S OPPORTUNITY

Though we all hope that India is on the threshold of extensive industrial development, agriculture will always remain the

most important industry of the Punjab. Its climate, its great alluvial plains, its fertilizing rivers and its communications with the ports of Karachi and Bombay render it specially fitted for the production of wheat and cotton, and these are commodities for which, as the world progresses, the demand must be constant and increasing. I cannot lay too much stress on the wonderful opportunity which the Punjab has of producing the special qualities of wheat and cotton required to meet this demand. Their supply constitutes a formidable economic problem for many countries in the world, but the Punjab is placed in the favourable position of being able to meet its own needs and help to fill the gap in the world's supply also. It is not possible to over-estimate the great importance of increased production for India, as we are at present passing through a period where unfortunately reduction figures more prominently than production. If India produced more, not only would this increased production bring in its train more wealth and comfort for each individual producer, but indirectly more revenue would accrue to the State from railway receipts, from custom duties on imports purchased in the process of the expansion of wealth and in many indirect ways. Those ill-omened twin stars, retrenchment and taxation, by which the Government in hard times is often forced to steer its course, might in such circumstances sink low in our horizon. I may remark in a parenthesis that by retrenchment I mean in this connection not the economical working of the Government machine, but a forced retraction in expenditure on beneficent activities.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Judged by these tests the labours of the Punjab agricultural department are of inestimable value, both to the Government and to the people of the Punjab. I envy the ministers under the reformed Government who have the beneficent activities of the agricultural department in their charge. There can be no subject which offers so congenial and fascinating a field for the improvement of the condition of a province. I heartily endorse the observations of Mr. Brownlie regarding agricultural research. It is a most legitimate and worthy object for the benefactions of generous donors. In many parts of the world scientific research of various kinds benefit very materially from trust funds established by private persons. India has an instance of such generosity in the Institute of Science at Bangalore. As regards agricultural research, I may draw attention in particular

to the great institution at Rothamsted in England, which has done magnificent work for agriculture both in England and other countries, and to the foundation and maintenance of which private generosity has so largely contributed. I hope some day to see private individuals in the Punjab also emulate the example I have quoted, and help to stimulate for the benefit of their fellow Punjabis advance in the premier industry of this province.

CAREERS FOR INDIANS

I have been greatly impressed in India with the narrow field of aspirations which bounds the vision of the educated young men of this great country. Too many are prone not to look beyond Government service or the legal profession as the only possible goal for their educational career. In these vocations there is obviously room for only a limited number, and the opportunities for an outstanding and successful career are definitely restricted. Yet around them lies a vast country as yet largely deprived of the advantages of technical and scientific training. In every direction there are sources of wealth and production waiting to be explored, waiting to be approved and ready to yield their secrets to the magic touch of knowledge. In this field it appears to me that the students of this college can play a notable part. They go forth from the college as pioneers of developments, of immense potential service to themselves and their province. They can practise the improved methods of agriculture learnt here, and instruct by their example their neighbours who have not had the good fortune to participate in the technical education received by them. Agriculture is a science and in agriculture as in other branches of human knowledge, no finite stage has yet been reached. Denmark and other countries which have specialized in agricultural science have successfully demonstrated the vast and continuous improvements in agriculture which the spread of knowledge can produce, and the great increase in wealth which the diffusion of technical methods never fails to achieve. Let me impress these facts on the students of the college, and congratulate them on the great opportunities which their education in the Lyallpur Agricultural College has placed in their path.

Lord Reading's Speech at Patiala 27th October 1923

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the new railway station at Patiala on October 26th, said :

It is a great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of being associated with the inauguration of the many beneficent measures which have conduced to the present prosperity of Patiala State. No one who looks back over the history of the administration in your Highness' State can fail to be impressed by the far-sighted statesmanship of the predecessors of Your Highness. The first project to engage their attention was the ways and means of supplying water to unirrigated areas in the State, and when it arose, the opportunity of becoming a working partner in the Sirhind Canal project was eagerly accepted and later participation in the Sirsa branch of the Western Jumna Canal was judged and rightly so, to be a project as beneficial to the State as to its subjects. From the irrigation we pass as a natural corollary to the question of transporting the increased produce of the irrigated lands, and here also it is evident that the same prudent inspiration was the guiding factor in the counsels of the Patiala administration.

The activities of past rulers of Patiala find their counterpart in the present day in the enlightened policy of Your Highness, to which the State owes a comprehensive scheme for a network of railways to assist in the export of the surplus grain and products which the canal system has brought into existence. Parts of this scheme have come into being by the assistance and facilities given by the State to trunk lines passing through the State territories, among which I may mention in particular the Rajpura-Bhatinda line, entirely constructed from State revenues. The remainder of the scheme consists in the feeder lines now awaiting construction by the State, and it is my privilege to-day to mark one more stage on the road of progress mapped out by Your Highness.

It is only fitting that the premier State of the Punjab should be a pioneer in such works of development and progress, and should show the way in schemes which add to the prosperity of the State and the welfare of its people, and I trust that all success will attend the projects and that they will bring to the State and its people the blessing which Your Highness anticipates. It is pleasing to contemplate Your Highness's scheme. You have resolved to combine plans for the improvement of your capital in addition to the beauties of the Baraduri Palace gardens. An increase in the amenities and an addition to the picturesque are not, I regret to say, items which we habitually associate with schemes for the development of industry and trade. Too often the latter result in a blot on the landscape without any compensating gain in beauty, but in Your Highness' scheme

beauty and utility are to be happily blended, and you will add some acres to a beautiful garden while you procure, as I hope you will, a revenue of several lakhs for your State Treasury. I will now respond to Your Highness's invitation and lay the foundation stone of what, I trust, will be a busy junction and the active centre of a successful feeder railway system for the Patiala State.

*Speaking at the State Banquet given in Her
Excellency's Honour on 27th October 1923*

I greatly appreciate the kind words Your Highness has used in speaking of Her Excellency and your reference to the difficulties of the Viceroy's task. I know that Her Excellency also values Your Highness's expressions of interest and appreciation regarding the work for the women of India which she has made the subject of her constant care and solicitude. Her Excellency has already had substantial proof of your Highness's personal sympathy with her plans of benevolence. I am glad to have had this opportunity of visiting Your Highness in your State for many reasons. I had hopes to have paid this visit at an earlier date, but circumstances arose which prevented my intentions from coming into fruition, and it is with all the greater pleasure that I now fulfil my deferred hopes. My present visit enables me to renew my friendship with Your Highness in your own home amid your ancestral dignities. Apart from personal grounds it is also a source of great pleasure to me to come to the capital of the premier State in the Punjab and the leading Sikh State in India, and, as Viceroy and Governor-General, to demonstrate the interest which I feel in the Patiala State and my appreciation of the happy nature of those relations which have subsisted between this State and the British Government for the past 115 years.

I need not examine the history of those relations as it is well-known to most of those here present. I found a culminating expression in the splendid services of this State and its subjects and in the personal services of Your Highness in the Great War, and I congratulate Your Highness on the very eloquent tribute paid to those services by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Patiala during his visit in February two years ago.

THE STATE TROOPS

I need only add that it has been a pleasure and privilege for me to have seen the fine troops which Your Highness maintains

and has recently reorganized and the excellency of their drill, and their soldier-like appearance at this morning's review has recalled most vividly to me the great traditions of steadfast loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor which it has been the pride of this State and its rulers to cherish and display. I know that His Majesty the King-Emperor may count the Ruler of the Patiala State among the most devoted and loyal friends of his house, and that this State may rely on the friendly interest and abiding support of the British Government in all that concerns its welfare.

A PAINFUL SUBJECT

Your Highness has touched on a painful matter connected with a neighbouring State. I hold Your Highness to be fully justified in explaining your actions and position in the disputes with the Maharaja of Nabha in order that all misapprehensions—or, I would rather say, bearing special instances in mind, misrepresentations—may be removed. I have recently publicly explained the action which I and my Government, as representative of the paramount power, were compelled to take in the case. I have nothing to add to the observations I have made except to express my appreciation of the temperate and constitutional manner in which the Patiala Durbar placed these international disputes before the proper authority, the representative of the paramount power, when they had reached a critical stage, and to say that they had the fullest justification for the course they adopted and acted with great consideration and forbearance.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE

Your Highness has alluded to many most interesting schemes of development and improvement in the civil administration of your State under contemplation by your Government. With the railway scheme I have been privileged to be directly connected by the ceremony performed this morning. I cannot too highly commend the steps Your Highness is taking to develop the resources of your State and to increase production. By such schemes, if subjected to careful examination and launched with due regard to financial consideration, not only the revenues of the State but the welfare of your subjects will be substantially increased. The prudent initiative of a ruler in these directions establishes a claim to fame which lives not only in the successful issue of these schemes in his own time but for future generations also, in the permanent prosperity which they create for the State

and its people. I wish Your Highness all success in these projects.

THE SPORT OF PATIALA

I am looking forward to enjoying the sport for which Your Highness's State is so justly renowned. I have followed with interest (and I expect Your Highness's interest has not been less than my own) the career of a polo team in England and America, of which one of my staff and two of Your Highness's staff were members. If fortune has not on all occasions favoured them I believe we can at least say that their brilliant play attracted universal attention in both countries and they made a name for themselves which will long be remembered in the annals of sport in both countries. I wish that besides shooting I could join in the other sports for which Patiala is famous, but when one passes the age of three score years one has to be careful as the saying goes of one's P's and Q's, and the P's in this case represent for me polo and pigsticking. I thank Your Highness once again for your kind hospitality and for all your kindness and thoughtfulness on our behalf. I will now ask you to join me in drinking the health of our illustrious host, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

Lord Reading's Speech at Lucknow 29th October 1923

Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since a Viceregal Durbar was held at Lucknow during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. Like my great predecessor I regard these occasions as possessing an importance of their own and as imbued with a special significance. The system by which in a Durbar the sovereign or his representative meets the notables and leading men of the community with picturesque ceremonial is hallowed by venerable traditions reaching back to the early days of India. The stately character of the gathering is symbolical of the high sense of duty and obligations inherent in the relation between the head of the administration and the people, while the ceremonial is an echo of the reverence which all good citizens consider due to the Government—whose sacred trust they share and under whose protection the serenity of their lives and the security of their property are assured. Apart from these essential qualities, a Durbar gives the Viceroy an opportunity which could scarcely be achieved by any other method to meet at one and the same time representatives of all classes from all parts of a province

or as in the present case of the United Provinces, in a dignified and fitting manner.

First of all let me say what a pleasure it is to me to have the opportunity during my present tour of paying a visit to Lucknow and Allahabad, the nerve centres of activity of your historic province. I regret that there is an aftermath of suffering and distress caused to the people of Lucknow by the unfortunate recent floods. I trust that the loss and inconvenience have now been mitigated by the measures which the Government and all classes have concerted for the purpose of assistance and relief. Though I have visited outlying portions of these provinces I have had to delay my visit to the centres of their government until the present occasion. In antiquity as British provinces and as points of focus for commerce, the United Provinces cannot claim to rival the older maritime presidencies, yet apart from these considerations Sir William Marris' charge may well be considered to rank with them among the most important provinces of India. Marching with our frontier with Tibet, lying midway between the north-western provinces of the Punjab and that frontier on the one hand and what I may term the Bengal province on the other, it occupies a very considerable portion of the north and centre of India. Its people have the characteristics in a large degree of the manly and martial races of the north-west, while much of the province enjoys the fructifying climate and plentiful rainfall which we associate with Deltaic Bengal, and which nature has denied to more northerly provinces. Historically the province is connected with the great dynasties which played so large a part in the past in the annals of India. For Hindus the land of the province, with the sacred Ganges flowing through its length, and with Hardwar and Benares, the cities of pilgrimage, within its borders, is hallowed soil; and the Moslem may regard with just pride a province which contains the peerless glories of the Taj and the historic monuments of Akbar and other princes of the great Moghal dynasty. Finally, the provinces as a whole may derive satisfaction from the agricultural wealth of its Gangetic plains, from its large estates, from its great cities, from the intellectual activity of its numerous universities and from its important industrial centres at Cawnpore and elsewhere.

Turning to recent years it is a subject for congratulation that the province has to a large extent recovered its balance after the disturbances of 1921. I am satisfied that more confidence and good sense now exist on every side. It is, however, with

deep regret that I have heard of the serious communal disturbances which have recently occurred in several places in the province. It is my earnest prayer that these differences may be composed. I look to you, gentlemen, the natural leaders of the two communities, to leave no stone unturned to secure a better mutual understanding. With your superior enlightenment and experience and your wider outlook, a sacred obligation rests on you to dispel doubts, to soothe embittered feelings with sympathetic advice, to remove causes of friction and to instil mutual tolerance among those who do not possess the advantages you enjoy; and in this task I know you can rely to the fullest measure on the assistance of Sir William Marris and the officers of his government. The effect of communal dissension is not confined to the suffering and disaster it produces in the area where it is manifested. Its malign influence has a wider import. It stifles all hopes of political progress among the people. It saps the forces of national life, for it tends to deny the existence of a common public weal or of common effort in co-operation for a single purpose.

The term of your first Legislative Council has drawn to a close. It can claim a substantial measure of achievement during this period. Among the several important legislative measures which have been passed I notice as deserving of special mention the Allahabad University Act, the Act for the control of Secondary Education, the Oudh Rent Act and the District Boards Act. I wish to congratulate the Legislative Council on its good sense and wise judgment in rejecting the proposal for withdrawal from the Empire Exhibition. I know that the Province has suffered from financial stringency; and it is greatly to the credit of the administration that with the support of the Legislature it has been able to effect economy by reducing expenditure while at the same time additional revenue by new taxation has been secured for the beneficent activities of Government. The efficiency of the administration has in this manner suffered no diminution. Meanwhile measures for the improvement of the welfare of the people have not stood still; and among these I may mention that steady progress has been made with the important Sarda Canal scheme, which I understand is the largest project of this nature undertaken in these Provinces for many years.

Before I close let me take you back to the year 1899, when the last Viceregal Durbar was held at Lucknow. Dwell with me for a moment on the position of India and her people then and her position now. Then, though the seeds of representative

institutions had been sown, India was still under tutelage. Reflect on the great moral, material and political progress which has since been achieved in this short space of time. For years the welfare of India was held in trust by the Crown and its servants. It was their sacred duty to protect her from foreign aggression and internal strife, to establish and maintain a strong and just Government in the land, to improve the condition of her people, and educate and uplift her masses. It was the earnest desire of successive British sovereigns, declared from time to time in solemn proclamations and messages and of their Government, that the moral and material welfare of the people of India should advance to the end that in due season, in the fullness of time, the people of India might be fitted to share in the blessings of representative institutions. The Act of 1919 has now entrusted the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the administration.

Let me examine for a moment the actual results in their main details. In the Central Government the Governor-General's Executive Council contains three Indian members in charge of important departments of the Government. Though the system does not provide for responsibility of the members to the Legislature there is a bicameral Indian Legislature representative of the people and vested with definite powers and functions of the highest importance. The Provincial Governments have been given in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India at present compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities. Each Governor has at least one Indian member of his Executive Council, while his ministry dealing with transferred subjects is chosen from his Legislative Council, which in turn is elected by the people of the Province. The so-called Imperial Services of India now include a definite proportion of Indian officers; the policy of increasing the association of Indians with every branch of the administration in India has been accepted by His Majesty's Government and is in practice. The High Commissioner for India in London is an Indian; and the council of the Secretary of State for India at Whitehall contains a substantial Indian element. Turning to spheres outside the administration of India itself, India no longer carries outside the Councils of the Empire, but her representatives have a seat at the Imperial Conference tables. In the League of Nations also the voice of the representatives of India is heard as representing one of the great Commonwealth of Nations of the British Empire. Gentlemen, the age of tutelage

has passed. Its place has been taken by an age of test. To India has been granted a wide measure of new liberties, of new opportunities, of new privileges and dignities, and of new obligations. Her feet are set on the road which leads to full representative Government and to the high destiny awaiting her in the Empire. May the people of India in co-operation and harmony, without thought of communal or party interests and with true patriotism, work together to make her progress easy along the stages of her journey to her goal.

*Lord Reading's Speech in reply to Address of Welcome
at the High Court, Allahabad 1st November 1923*

I esteem it a privilege to have had this opportunity to-day of meeting the members of the Bench and Bar of the High Court at Allahabad.

I thank Sir Grimwood Mears most warmly for his kind references to my past connection with the legal profession and to the opportunities for work in wider spheres which have been vouchsafed to me and in which I have striven to the best of my ability to render service to the Empire.

Vivid and pleasurable recollections of my association in the past with the Bench and Bar will always dwell with me ; and chief among these are the precious memories of the able and distinguished men with whom I have been privileged to work in the profession or with whom my work has brought me into contact. Among them I place Sir Grimwood Mears now presiding over this court as your Chief Justice ; and in meeting him here I not only renew a friendship of long standing in the legal profession in England, but also find myself once more with one who rendered eminent services in many directions to His Majesty's Government after the outbreak of War. In a mission I undertook from Great Britain to the United States of the highest importance to the Empire, Sir Grimwood Mears was of great assistance to me, and I especially valued the benefit of his wide knowledge of affairs and zealous devotion to our interests. I am glad to meet him here in the high and dignified position of Chief Justice and to know that he has already established his reputation, not only as a lucid interpreter of the law and justice, but also as an efficient administrator of the courts.

Fifty-seven years ago this High Court established by Letters Patent, issued under the Royal Sign Manual, began its existencê

at Agra as the High Court of Judicature of the North-Western Provinces. It moved to this city three years later. Since its inauguration it has represented a fundamental principle of the British Empire, the greatest tradition of British rule—the administration of justice.

In Hindu eyes the place in which this city of Allahabad has been built, is sanctified as the meeting-place of the two sacred rivers of the Province ; and this conjunction holds its allegory ; as the stream of the combined rivers is in the belief of the Hindu faith efficacious to cleanse from fault or stain, so also should the flow of justice be potent to remove from humanity the suffering caused by wrong.

The courts exist not only to administer the laws but also to administer justice. Justice in its turn demands knowledge and impartiality. In knowledge I include not only that of the scientific rules framed for the administration of justice, but clarity of exposition for the guidance of others and for the proper comprehension of the law. Justice makes no discrimination between the strong and the weak or between the rich and the poor ; justice must be blind to extraneous considerations, but nevertheless it must see far into the minds and motives of mankind ; while justice must preserve an unbiassed mind and should guard against the danger of sympathy unduly depressing or elevating the scales, none the less it should have full understanding of the temptations, fears and suspicions of the poor and weak and should pay due regard to human frailty in arriving at its conclusions. At the same time justice should be swift in its operation and must not tarry in its course.

These are the ideals which the courts in India, as well as in England, have always kept in view. These principles are the basis of the traditions of the legal profession. For these its members, both Bench and Bar, have steadfastly striven in the past. Lawyers are to-day, as hitherto, proud of their association with the courts. The daily contact evolves in the individual a high standard of justice. The practice of the profession produces an almost passionate desire for justice, whose virtue, as Aristotle has said, lies in moderation regulated by wisdom. The members of the profession are I know, fully mindful of the great responsibilities of their calling, and I am convinced that they will in no way relax their efforts to maintain unsullied the great name of their honourable profession. In adding lustre to its purity lies their greatest vocation ; and in an increase to its dignity rests their truest reward.

*Lord Reading's Speech at Allahabad University
2nd November 1923*

I thank you most sincerely for your friendly greetings. I have been eagerly looking forward to this informal visit. The many preoccupations of my official duties militate against as frequent intercourse as I could wish with the centres of higher education in India ; and I welcome all the more warmly any occasional opportunities for visits to our great Indian Universities. Your University, while it is the youngest of the residential and teaching type of the province, is the oldest affiliating University in Northern India. It is (shall I say like India itself ?) passing through a period of transition ; and it has to face the difficulties and perplexities common to such periods. Fortified by its tradition, however, I am confident that its achievements in the future will more than echo the traditions of its past ; and that as the years go on, it will continue to send forth young men fully equipped as citizens of no mean Empire, inspired by the highest ideals of the East and West, and ready to take their part in the advancement of this great province and in the progress of India.

You are fortunate in the wide scholarship of your Chancellor. The clear intellect and delicate taste of Sir William Marris, which ranges from the most intimate appreciation of the Latin poets to the subtleties of political science and constitutional structures, is too well-known to need a meed of praise from me. I trust that these qualities of mind may always pervade your University ; that there may flourish here the flowers of intellectual integrity ; that your studies may bear as fruit an earnest desire to seek the truth and to adhere to it ; and that balanced judgment and tolerance of opinion may be upheld as the standards of your University culture. No mental characteristics can serve India in better stead at a period when the new ideals of responsible Government are being implanted in the East from the West.

In the Arabic introduction to an Oriental classic, I once read a phrase which seems to me to have a bearing on the real aspect of University influence and teaching. It was an introductory invocation to the Supreme Being and was expressed in the following words : " All thanks be to that Being who in the sea of erudition concealed the pearl of meaning." It is to the ideal University that we must look for the secret to find the pearl. Learning and knowledge can be had at all Universities. The

diffusion of the waters of the foundation of knowledge is but part of their ordinary routine ; but the glory of a University rests in the gift of the secret power to find the pearl, to endow its alumni with wisdom, to give them that intimate perception which will enable them to harmonize the sense of history and tradition with that of progress and free intellectual activity. Without this secret, the contact of the learning and ideas of the West with the ancient culture of the East may but cause remorse and disappointment.

I thank you again for your warm welcome. I am gratified that I have had an opportunity of meeting you at the University to-day.

His Excellency ended his speech with words of appreciation of the part played by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference and of the facts and sound arguments which he has brought to bear on his task. His Excellency also added a few special words of encouragement to the students of the University.

*Lord Reading's Speech at the Banquet given in his honour
at Chowmahalla by H.E.H. The Nizam (Hyderabad)
23rd November 1923*

Your Exalted Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen : I thank Your Exalted Highness most sincerely for the graceful terms in which you have proposed our health, and for the kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our visit to Hyderabad, the premier State in India. You have been good enough to allude in most appreciative terms to myself and to what I have been able to accomplish for India, both in and out of India. You have spoken of the common interest and common ideals which unite the ruler of this State to the British Government as their faithful Ally. I value Your Exalted Highness's words, for your wide responsibilities as a ruler of more than twelve million people, and the traditions of your State of association with the British in the past in the preservation of peace in the Deccan and its support of the British Empire in the recent Great War, give Your Exalted Highness a just perception both of the magnitude and difficulties of my task as Viceroy and Governor-General, and enable you fully to apprise the great destiny which awaits India and to which I seek to lead her. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as representative of His Majesty, recently paid a well-deserved tribute to the great services rendered by Your Exalted

Highness's State in the War. These have been already so fully acknowledged that they now form an important part of the history of the co-operation of India with the British Empire during that critical period. It is not only in time of war that the Indian States have their lot and part in India as a whole. On her general prosperity and contentment, as Your Exalted Highness observed, depends their well-being. As she advances and prospers, as she gains in importance in the Empire, as she attains a loftier place in Imperial councils and a higher degree of respect in the eyes of the nations of the world, in such measure is there likewise increase in the position of the Indian States which form so important a part in her entity. In British India my Government is striving to give India a wider field of self-expression, to use for her advancement the best that is in her, and by extending the association of Indians with the administration and with the representation of her interests in the Empire to help her on to the goal which all who love her would see her reach. I wish to associate the States and their rulers in these ideals, and let them share in my hopes and aspirations. I regard it as important to keep them well informed of the improvements which are tending to India's progress and advance, for the great place which awaits her in the Empire should be filled by a united India, by India as a whole.

I felicitate Your Exalted Highness on the expansion of the machinery of your Executive Government, which I trust will conduce, as you anticipate, to the efficient working of the administration, and continue to deserve the confidence both of Your Exalted Highness and your subjects. I have heard with great interest of the activities of the Government of Your Exalted Highness in many directions calculated to benefit your State and to enhance the well-being of your subjects. The progress in irrigation works and in railway development, which are calculated to bring increased revenue to the State, while improving the lot of its cultivators, must be a source of special gratification to Your Exalted Highness. In no direction has expansion been so remarkable as in the case of education. I hope that the rapid increase of education facilities in your State will find its reward in the quickening of mind and character in the rising generation, for in the development of the general level of intelligence among the people the hopes of future progress in the State are bound up. All who study Indian educational problems will watch with interest the scheme inaugurated

by Your Exalted Highness in the Osmania University for teaching up to the highest standard through the medium of Urdu. Her Excellency, I know, will be much interested in the hospital scheme which is nearing completion after an expenditure of nearly Rs. 19 lakhs. It is greatly to the credit of the administration that so many works and projects of the highest importance have been successfully brought to fruition in a period of financial depression, and that in spite of bad seasons the soundness of the financial position has nevertheless been maintained.

I thank Your Exalted Highness once more for the cordial welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself, and for your princely hospitality, of which we shall cherish the memory. Ladies and gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking prosperity to the Hyderabad State and health and good fortune to our illustrious host, His Exalted Highness the Nizam, the Faithful Ally of the British Government.

*Lord Reading's Speech in reply to the Address of the
Municipality of Bangalore 27th November 1923*

On behalf of Lady Reading and myself, I thank you very warmly for the kind welcome you have given us on the occasion of our first visit to Bangalore. Bangalore is unfortunately at a considerable distance from the headquarters of the Government of India, and the many preoccupations of the Viceroy and Governor-General militate against frequent journeys so far afield. It is, therefore, a source of special pleasure and interest to us to have this opportunity of visiting this important town and cantonment in Southern India.

Your address gives ample proof of the very laudable interest which the Municipal Commission takes in the welfare of its charge. Your desire to see the Civil and Military Station thoroughly equipped with all the necessities and amenities of an up-to-date and sanitary town, and to carry out town improvements in the poorer quarters without an undue burden on the taxpayer is greatly to your credit, and I am looking forward during my visit to inspecting personally the works which you have carried out and to studying the problems for which you have solutions under your consideration. I am particularly interested in your plan for improving the conditions under which the labouring and poorer class families live, and I know that this side of your work will make a very special appeal to Her Excellency also.

In conclusion, His Excellency said he was gratified to hear the satisfaction which they expressed in the machinery for the administration of Law and Justice, and he appreciated their solicitude as regards education. He congratulated the Municipality on their efforts to improve educational facilities and on their policy as regards primary education. He realized, however, that with a large number of high schools and an increasing number of students turning their thoughts towards higher education, facilities for University education were a necessity calling for careful thought and action on the part of the local authorities.

*Lord Reading's Speech, in reply to Coorg Landholders'
Association 30th November 1923*

I am gratified to have had this opportunity of meeting you, and thank you most warmly for your address, and for the kind welcome you have extended to Her Excellency and myself. It was my hope to have found time to pay a visit to Coorg and to have had the pleasure of taking part in the ceremonies connected with the inauguration of your new Legislative Council, but my engagements in Southern India are numerous, and my time is restricted, and I have been obliged, though with great reluctance, to abandon my idea. Nevertheless, you may rest assured that Coorg and its people hold a very special interest for me; that I am conscious that the ties which connect them with my Government are of a very special nature.

Coorg is a very small country, but it has a great history behind it. Its people were allies of the British Government for nearly fifty years before their country, at their own request, was taken over by the British. They rendered valuable assistance in the wars with Hyder Ali and Tippu, their support was freely given in the suppression of the rising in South Canara in 1836, and at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny they rallied *en masse* to the help of the British Government. These fine traditions found their echo in their record in the recent Great War, and even now, when the War is over, by raising a Territorial battalion and by keenness in enlisting, they continue to foster and preserve their ideas of loyalty and service. These annals establish a record in which Coorg, though smaller in area and population than the average British district, may well take pride.

As a province, its people, as my Government has always recognized, have their own racial, linguistic, and social characteristics, and a distinct and well-marked individuality of their

own ; and it was on these grounds that they were selected for integrity as a unit of our administration, and in view of these considerations, in spite of the comparative mightiness [*sic*] of the area and population involved, the Government of India decided to establish a Legislative Council in Coorg. I earnestly hope that the new Council will fully justify its creation, and the people in Coorg will find in it reasonable opportunities for public life and political expression. My Government, you may be confident, will watch its activities with sympathy. I trust that in due time these may develop into more extended participation in the work of administration.

You have alluded to your desires for representation in the Imperial Legislature. Smaller administrative units, it is true, such as Delhi, have elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly, but these have no Provincial Legislative Council. You have the latter privilege, and not the former, and I think that on reflection it will be clear to you that, in view of the numerical restrictions of your electorate, you can hardly, at the present time, expect a larger share in representative institutions than that which has been vouchsafed to you in your local Provincial Council.

My Government has always paid special consideration to your circumstances, and although the strict logic of calculation would warrant a regular contribution from your revenues to the Central Government, yet in view of the smallness of your revenues and expenditure, this has been waived, and you pay no charge of this nature, except part of the cost of the Resident of Mysore and his establishment, for work connected with his office as the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. If it is found necessary to send forward at any time any proposals relating to the financial stability of the sanads of my Government, as regards the special tenures referred to by you, I understand that there has been no breach of the very material concession of assessment at half the ordinary rates, which is the essence of this special system. The question has been carefully considered by the Government of India on several occasions, and it has been decided the sanads confirm the special grant of tenure at a rate which is light, as compared with that of other ryots, but do not substantiate any claim to permanent assessment. While these lands have a privileged rate of assessment, no new facts or circumstances have been advanced to show that they are not liable to periodical re-assessment with other lands.

I have heard with regret of the damage done in some parts

of the province by excessive rainfall. I believe that whatever measures it was possible in the circumstances to devise for the relief of distress have been put into effect. My Government made a special grant for agriculture to meet the situation. I wish your province all future prosperity.

*Lord Reading's Speech at Government House, Mysore
29th November 1923*

I thank Your Highness most cordially for the very warm welcome you have extended both on your behalf and on behalf of your subjects to Her Excellency and myself on the occasion of our first visit to the Mysore State. Your Highness has alluded to me in most generous terms. I greatly value your kind expressions and felicitations, coming as they do from one whose personal character and achievements I hold in high regard. Your Highness's words have a special meaning for me, for they reveal the understanding sympathy of a ruler set at the head of an important State, who has an intimate knowledge of the doubts and difficulties confronting administrators. These difficulties have never deterred you in your task. You have never hesitated to resolve doubts, so that you might remove them from your path in the execution of your responsibilities ; and, above all, I prize words of appreciation from Your Highness because you have always made efficiency in your Government your watchword and viewed the interests of your people as the keystone of your administration.

Her Excellency, I know, values your special reference to her and to her work for the women and children of India. If she has been able to make progress with her beneficent schemes, her success is largely due to the warm-hearted sympathy and practical support she received from Your Highness and others who share views on the ultimate importance to India of her work.

I need not assure Your Highness that we have been eagerly looking forward to our visit to Mysore. It is a great pleasure to me to renew my acquaintance with Your Highness in your own State. It is of happy augury that my visit is paid shortly after the inception by Your Highness of great constitutional changes in your State. Your Highness has for long wisely pursued the policy of your State in the work of the administration. It must be most gratifying to Your Highness to find that the confidence which you have reposed in your subjects has been fully justified and repaid, and that you have now been

enabled to take another step forward in the path of constitutional reform.

I need not refer in detail to the new charter which was so recently the subject of a proclamation by Your Highness, suffice it to say that it operates to extend the franchise, to remove sex disqualification, and to invest the legislative bodies with substantial powers as regards financial and legislative functions. In many respects the structure follows the lines which have been set up in British India. I congratulate Your Highness's subjects on the large opportunities for service which are now placed before them. I am confident that they will use their new powers and discharge these graver responsibilities with an undeviating loyalty to their Maharaja and the best interests of the Mysore State.

Your Highness has been untiring in your efforts to fit your people for this measure of participation in your Government, and in your task you have had the able support of the Mysore Civil Service, and you can have no higher reward than this, the highest of all, in the love and veneration of your subjects and in their increased prosperity and contentment.

I sympathize with the difficulties which financial stringency has caused your administration. The courageous steps taken by Your Highness's Ministers for the restoration of financial equilibrium are a source of satisfaction, and I trust that you may soon be free from the graver features of your recent perplexities. You may look to my Government for a sympathetic consideration of any proposals you put forward in difficult periods of this nature. My Government may not always be able to help you, but we shall always be ready to look into your proposals, keeping in mind the sound traditions of administration prevailing in Mysore and the past achievements of the State in the development of its resources and the expansion of natural production.

In this connection I have some information to give you which will be of interest. My Government has been in communication with the Secretary of State regarding the use of the Railway Debenture Sinking Fund for capital outlay in productive work. Definite suggestions are now under our consideration, and Your Highness's Durbar will receive intimation very shortly which I trust may be favourable in principle, even although there may not be complete acceptance of your views.

* When I last saw Your Highness you made representations to

me about a reduction in the Mysore subsidy. This reduction, which I know Your Highness has much at heart, has been under discussion for some time past. Although the Government of India and the Secretary of State have been unable to accept the request of the Mysore Durbar in entirety, I am glad to be able to inform Your Highness that it is now open to your Government to claim a reduction of the amount of the subsidy annually payable. The system is connected with the scheme for the reorganization of the State Forces, which Your Highness has under consideration. The gist of the decision is as follows : When a State paying tribute for protection maintains troops of undoubted efficiency for Imperial defence, and spends on those troops a sum which, in addition to the tribute or subsidy, amounts to over 15 per cent of the gross revenues of the State, such excess will be regarded as giving a claim for a *pro tanto* remission of subsidy according to the circumstances of each case.

This principle will apply to the Mysore subsidy, and when your scheme for the reorganization of the State troops is in effect, it will, I anticipate, materially benefit the revenues of your State.

In regard to the question of the use of the surplus revenue of the Assigned Tracts, I am glad to find that the definite proposals approved of by Your Highness's Government have been sent forward to my Government by the Resident. I trust that this problem will shortly be solved in a manner agreeable both to the interests of Your Highness's State and to your Government. I know the importance of the waters of the Cauvery River in the schemes for development of Your Highness's State and the difficulty of adjusting shares in the supply which have been felt for many years past. I am gratified to learn that the recent conference between the Chief Engineers of the Madras Government and the Mysore Durbar have resulted in an agreement between the technical advisers of the two parties concerned. I trust that all differences of opinion may now be composed to the mutual advantage of both administrations, and that both Madras and Mysore will be enabled to make substantial progress with the beneficent schemes they have under contemplation.

I thank Your Highness once more for the splendid welcome we have received in Your Highness's State. Ladies and gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking long life and prosperity to His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore.

*Lord Reading's Speech in reply to an Address from the
National Home Rule League at Madras 10th December 1923*

I thank you for your kind address of welcome. Let me express my appreciation of the cordial and loyal terms in which your greetings are couched. I observe that you have alluded to the desire of India to advance towards a higher political status in pursuing the aim of responsible Government in India. His Majesty's Government and the Government of India invite and must rely on that powerful body of enlightened and progressive Indian opinion which sees in the constitutional method of the advance of both the only practicable and also the most expeditious means of attainment of that goal. I have noted with satisfaction that substantial progress has already been made on these lines. As your League point out, practical proof has been given of the earnest desire of the Government of India to seek and apply remedies where grievances exist, and to create an atmosphere where constitutional activities can grow and fructify. I have been gratified to mark that the Legislatures in India on their part have not been slow to avail themselves of the powers with which they are invested, with results clearly manifested not only in legislation, but also in policy and administration. With this experience behind them all, those who are united in the ideals to be pursued, and agree in views as to the best and speediest method of their realization, can look to the future in strong hope and confidence. You make special reference to the Secretary of State. I do not understand your description of his position as autocratic, for he is a Minister of His Majesty's Government responsible to the British Parliament. As regards Lord Peel, I wish to express my obligations to him for his unremitting efforts thoroughly to understand and weigh carefully Indian opinion in all questions, and for his unvarying desire to further the best interests of India in every way. The many occasions on which India has had cause for gratitude to Lord Peel are, perhaps, better known to me than to the public at large. In particular, I draw attention to the goodwill and sympathy to India manifested by Lord Peel in his address to the Imperial Conference. His advocacy contributed most notably to the creation of the favourable atmosphere during the Kenya discussions, and paved the way for the cordial reception of the observations of the Indian delegates, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and Su Tej Bahadur Sapru. India is deeply indebted to the two latter for

their convincing presentation of her case in the Conference and, in addition to his powerful exposition of India's claims in the formal discussions, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru deserves the highest commendation for his patient and untiring efforts in informal interviews and conversations with the representatives of the Dominions and Colonies on India's behalf. With your League, I rejoice in the attainment of peace in the Near East, and join in the hope expressed by His Majesty in his Prorogation Speech that the Treaty will herald an era of political and commercial prosperity for Turkey and the countries which are renewing friendly relations with her.

1924 31ST JANUARY

Speech at the Opening of the Central Legislature at Delhi

When I last addressed you, the members of the Indian Legislature, the last session of the first Legislative Assembly was at its close. A new Legislative Assembly has since been constituted, and the members of the Council of State and of the Assembly are now about to enter upon the labours of the Delhi session, to face new responsibilities, and to strive to solve fresh problems in the best interests of India. Let me, in the first place, extend a welcome to all the members. I see many who have already notable achievements to their credit in the annals of the Indian Legislature. They need no special word of welcome and encouragement from me, because they are aware of the high regard I entertain for their services, and in my address of last July I set forth my view of the supreme importance of their work to the development of self-governing institutions in India, and of the great value of the influence and traditions established by them. I miss with regret from this assemblage the faces of others (of the same fold) who had rendered yeoman service to the cause of constitutional progress. I see many new members before me. I wish them welcome, and shall watch their work in their new environment with keen interest. In their new responsibilities they will find the fullest opportunity for the display of the highest patriotism and for the noblest work for the service of India. Before I pass to review the work before the Legislature and the internal affairs of India, let me dwell on a few questions of importance outside India, but closely affecting her welfare.

Progress towards economic recuperation in Europe proceeds but slowly, and the reaction of commercial dislocation still affects India together with the rest of the world. Nevertheless, there are indications of activity and trade revival in India, and there is good ground for hope that her period of convalescence will be more brief in duration and marked by more rapid and steady advance to strength than elsewhere. A treaty was signed with Turkey at Lausanne in July last, and its ratification by the signatory Powers at an early date is anticipated. Tension has been relieved in the Middle East, and the Treaty has been welcomed by responsible Indian Moslem opinion as

affording a solution to many problems exercising their minds. On the northern boundary of India, the traditions of amity subsisting for a century past with her neighbour, Nepal, have found a happy issue in a treaty signed at Khatmandu in December last, which is a legitimate cause of satisfaction to both the parties.

ANGLO-AFGHAN RELATIONS

Beyond the North-West Frontier, India has another neighbour closely connected with her. The relations of India with the kingdom of Afghanistan are conducted by His Majesty's Government, and, as you are aware, a treaty of neighbourly relations exists between the two Governments. I have read assertions recently in the Press that these relations have been strained. There have been allegations, on the one hand of the entertainment of aggressive feelings towards Afghanistan by His Majesty's Government, and on the other hand of an unreasonable attitude on the part of that country. Our relations with Afghanistan, as I have said, are in the charge of His Majesty's Government, but there has been speculation in the Indian Press regarding these rumours, and considerations of propinquity and past intimate associations evoke a warm solicitude in India for the welfare of Afghanistan and for the maintenance of relations of amity. It is right, in order to remove misconception in India, that I should state that these rumours as to the alleged intention of His Majesty's Government are without foundation. Certain questions have, however, been under discussion between His Majesty's Government and Afghanistan. Those discussions are now nearing a satisfactory solution. The discussions had their origin in outrages, notably those at Barshore and Spinchilla, committed on our frontier by Wazirs domiciled in Afghanistan. They were complicated by the execution of these outrages from a base in Afghanistan and by the removal of loot to Afghan territory. In some cases, also, the perpetrators were deserters from British Indian militia units, who had found employment in Afghanistan. The raids were serious in their results. In addition to private losses, four British officers and eighty-one Indian sepoys of our regular militia Indian units lost their lives. Subsequent to these events, two Afghan subjects murdered two unarmed British officers near Landi Kotal and fled to Afghanistan, where they were arrested by the order of their Government, but later escaped from custody. Meanwhile the members of the Kohat gang, who were not Afghan subjects, the men who had

in the country of the Utmanzai Wazirs, with our regular troops, at the request of the Wazirs themselves. A circular road more than 70 miles in length, running from Idak in the Tochi, past Razmak and through Mahsud country to Jandola, has been efficiently constructed in a short space of time. A second road fringing the Mahsud country on the south-east is under construction from Jandola to Sarwekai. These roads have been constructed in the main by the tribes. They are protected throughout the greater part of their length only by irregular forces, scouts and local recruited khassadars, and under their protection they are beginning to carry the trade of the country, and to exercise the civilizing and pacific influences which are the special and beneficent characteristics of a road policy. Except for a few technical troops, there are now no regular troops in Mahsud country. Military expenditure has been steadily reduced, and more settled conditions on the border offer good prospect of a more than temporary success for our policy. We should be unduly sanguine if we declared that our difficulties are at an end. Nevertheless, in our judgment, arrived at after much investigation and deliberation, this policy spells the best hope for progressive improvement in the future.

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

You will remember that when I last addressed the Legislature, the position of Indians in the Empire was a cause of serious concern to me and my Government, no less than to Indian opinion generally. Since then, except in directions to which I shall subsequently refer, the results of the labours of the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Alwar, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference have undoubtedly improved the situation. The Premiers of four Dominions have shown deep sympathy and expressed their earnest desire to remove the disabilities affecting Indians. There is good ground for hope that the attainment of a solution acceptable to India is only a matter of comparatively short time, except possibly in the case of Canada, where there are some special difficulties. India most cordially appreciates their sympathy and encouragement, and I speak for India when I say that this recognition of India's position in the Empire is the source of satisfaction to her. The position in South Africa, however, is different. The Union Government has reaffirmed its unwillingness to adopt the attitude of other Dominions and, in addition, proposals for legislation, which are expected in practice to affect Indians adversely,

have been brought forward. The National Township Franchise Amending Act, vetoed on previous occasions by the Governor-General of South Africa in Council, has again been passed in the Natal Legislative Council, and a Class Areas Bill has been published by the Union Government. Vigorous representations have been made by my Government which, we trust, will have success in regard to the Township Act. The Union Government have given an assurance that it is their desire and intention to apply the measure, the Class Areas Bill, if it becomes law, in a spirit of fairness to the interests and reasonable requirements of the Indians. My Government, however, whilst welcoming the assurance, cannot rest satisfied with this position, and we shall continue our efforts to persuade the Union Government to incline to our view. We are aware of the strength of public opinion in India upon this subject, and shall strive to give effect to it by all legitimate means within our powers.

The position as regards the Crown Colonies has materially changed owing to the acceptance of the proposal for a Crown Colonies Committee to be appointed by my Government, which will confer with the Colonial Office on all pending questions, including Kenya. The late Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, has promised that there shall be full consultation and discussion between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Committee appointed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates, and mandated territories. I hope for nothing but benefit from these discussions, and we shall gratefully take the fullest advantage of the opportunity offered. As regards Kenya, the views of my Government were explained at length by me in my last address to the Legislature and formed the subject of a resolution issued by my Government in August last. While acknowledging the difficulties of the issues, and the great care and attention His Majesty's Government devoted to India's claims, we did not conceal our feelings of disappointment at the result, and we reserved the right to make further representations with a view to re-opening these decisions when a legitimate opportunity offers. At the Imperial Conference, His Majesty's Government have given an assurance that while they can offer no prospect of the decisions being modified, "careful attention will be given to such representations as the Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make to the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

This assurance gives us the opportunity we have been seeking and is a substantial gain.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH KENYA

Following upon the decisions, statutory action has been taken as regards the franchise question in Kenya. The Kenya Government has treated Indians on the same lines as Europeans, and granted adult suffrage and given communal franchise. This method of working may be accepted, and it has now become law. It is open to our Committee, however, subsequently to make representations setting forth our contention that there are grounds for an increase in the number of seats to Indians, and that in our view all voters should be registered on a common electoral roll. We shall continue to press our views by means of the constitutional channel opened to us by the assurance of His Majesty's Government. As regards immigration, the decision of His Majesty's Government was stated in the White Paper in the terms of a general principle only, and His Majesty's Government issued in addition an instruction to the Governor of Kenya to explore the matter further on his return to the Colony and, in concert with the Governor of Uganda, to submit proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for giving effect to that amount of control of immigration which the economic interests of the natives of both dependencies require. When we received a copy of the ordinance which had been drafted by the Government, we took immediate steps to urge the postponement of the introduction and consideration of the Bill until the Government of India were able fully to present their objections. At the same time we strongly pressed that the Colonies Committee, appointed by the Government of India, should also have an opportunity of examining the question of the restrictions on immigration embodied in the Bill.

These representations were accompanied by a preliminary statement of our objections to the provisions of the Bill. We received in reply an assurance by telegram from Lord Peel, the Secretary of State, that the introduction of the Bill had been postponed at the instance of the Duke of Devonshire, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. His Majesty's present Government have now informed me that the late Secretary of State for the Colonies found the ordinance unsatisfactory and returned it to East Africa to be redrafted. At the same time, he called upon the Government of Kenya for certain information regarding immigration and for an explanatory statement.

respecting the method proposed for the administration of immigration measures. His Majesty's present Minister for the Colonies will await the reply to these inquiries and the revised draft of the ordinance, and will be guided by further information received when these documents are before him. Meanwhile, he has given me an assurance that ample opportunity will be afforded to my Government to express their views and that he will give his earnest attention to any representations which the Colonies Committee appointed by the Government of India may desire to make regarding the measure, whether in the form of a Bill or of an enacted ordinance. I desire to express my deep obligations to the late and to the present Secretary of State for the Colonies for the consideration given to the representations of my Government, which have received the continuous support of Lord Peel and his successor. The steps taken are strong testimony to the sense of justice and fairness with which His Majesty's Government have been animated in dealing with the proposals.

CONSPIRACY IN BENGAL

As regards events in India, the two murderous outrages which have recently occurred in Bengal have caused as deep concern to my Government as they have excited reprobation and abhorrence in the minds of all good citizens of every community. It is the primary duty of government to vindicate the law against such outrages and to bring their perpetrators to justice, and my Government is entitled to look for the moral support and active co-operation of all sections of the public in the task. We owe to the families of those who have been victims our deep and respectful sympathy, but we have an even wider duty—the duty to safeguard others from similar calamity. My Government have for some time been aware of the existence of conspiracies having as their object the assassination of public servants and of the correspondence of persons implicated in these conspiracies with Communist agencies directed by organizations outside India. It was out of the question to permit those sinister designs to advance on their way to results that no process of law can remedy. Our officers on whom devolve the dangerous task of the prevention and detection of crime must look to us for at least that measure of safety, so far as the law can give it, which their own services secure to the public. Punishment in cases of outrages of this nature is not an efficient substitute for prevention. It became necessary

to take steps to confine certain of the persons concerned in these conspiracies under the provisions of Regulation III of 1858. The necessity for these measures has recently received tragic confirmation in the murder of Mr. Day and the injuries to three Indians who attempted to stop the flight of his assailant. I trust that these steps to combat an evil, which not only destroys innocent lives, but is a menace to society as a whole, and a grave obstacle to political progress, will command the approval of all those to whom security and progress are objects of vital and common concern.

Need I assert that it was only with the greatest reluctance that I assented to the use of these measures for the protection of the public and in the public interest. I am firmly impressed by the consideration that it is essential strictly to confine these special and extraordinary measures to extreme cases of emergency, and I fully appreciate and sympathize with the view of those who wish to protect the liberty of the subject with strict exactitude. In these days the strong light of publicity, both in the Legislature and the Press, is brought to bear upon the use of emergency measures of this character, and this in itself acts as a safeguard against their abuse. Before any action is taken, I and my Government submit those cases to a scrupulously careful examination. After the arrests in Bengal were made, as you are aware, all the documents and evidence relating to each individual have been placed before two Judges of the High Court for the purpose of thoroughly sifting the material on which action was taken, of submitting it to the technical tests of judicial knowledge and experience, and of framing recommendations regarding each case. I shall myself re-examine the case of each man concerned with the greatest care in the light of the recommendations of the Judges in each case, and with the assistance of their detailed scrutiny of the evidence and the documents. In this manner the greatest possible precautions will be exercised to secure that no individual shall run the risk of suffering injustice because of the gravity of a situation, and his right to an impartial investigation of a charge will never be imperilled by the immediate necessity for measures of prevention.

QUESTION OF AN INDIAN BAR

I attach great importance to the labours of two Committees at present engaged in the examination of certain aspects of the administration of the law. The first, which has been dealing

with the subject of the Bar in India, is reaching the conclusion of its labours. The general question of the creation of an Indian Bar and special features of the varying systems in different Provinces in India regulating the appointment, practice and privileges of advocates and vakils, attracted considerable interest among the members of the late Assembly, and were the subject of a number of private Bills, resolutions, and questions. The whole problem has now been examined by an expert and representative Committee, and their recommendations will be of special interest. The second Committee is entering upon the task of examination of civil judicial procedure, with a view to increasing the efficiency of the machinery and in particular of expediting the technical processes for arriving at the final decision in civil suits and for securing to the successful litigant the fruits of his decree. Reproach for delay in these operations has been levelled at our administration. It is essential that for the ends of justice and efficiency all cause for criticism should be removed. Any improvement which it may be found possible to effect will, I need scarcely point out, be of the greatest value to all litigants and, as regards commercial cases, will have reactions of importance on the general commercial and industrial prosperity of India.

RETRENCHMENT

Another question of first importance connected with the administration is the problem of retrenchment. Though less than a year has passed since Lord Inchcape presented the report of his Committee, I am glad to inform you that most of the recommendations of that Committee have already been carried into effect, and the great benefit of reduction of expenditure will again be patent when the Budget comes under discussion in the Legislature. Considering the far-reaching nature of the changes involved by the recommendations, the expedition with which they have been put into effect is to be commended. As you are aware, the reduction of troops as recommended by my Government on the basis of the report of Lord Inchcape's Committee, was accepted in full by His Majesty's Government save in respect of the British Cavalry regiments. As regards these regiments, His Majesty's Government agreed to withdraw two, but not the third. As a result of discussion, however, His Majesty's Government have agreed to pay £75,000 annually as a contribution for the maintenance of the third regiment for a period of two years. At the end of that time, if the military

situation is still unchanged, it will be open to my Government to raise again the question of the retention of the third cavalry regiment.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

In addressing myself to the internal affairs of India, I would remind you that a change of Government has happened in England within the last few days. In consequence, ordinary courtesy and also constitutional propriety render it incumbent upon me to refrain from some observations upon Indian affairs I should otherwise be tempted to make until there has been opportunity for discussion with the new Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government. If, therefore, contrary to your expectation, I do not express myself upon some matters, you will understand the reason, but it need not prevent my making some reference to the Reforms and the work before the Legislature.

With the institution of a Legislative Council in Coorg and the grant of representation in the Assembly to Ajmere-Merwara, the reformed constitution has become an integral part of the institutions in the smallest administrative units in this country. The attendance at the polls and the close contests between candidates during the recent election demonstrate the increasing interest which the system claims from the electorate and the country at large. Within the walls of the Council Chambers, Parliamentary traditions have begun to be established, Representative institutions are being built up on a firm basis. The people of India are taking a share in the maintenance and activities of Government, which stands, as all civilized administrations must stand, for security against external aggression, for internal security by the maintenance of the law and the preservation of order, for the protection of the rights and liberties of individual citizens of every class and creed, for the development of the material and political welfare of the country, and for ordered continuity of progress.

ROCK FOUNDATION OF REFORMS

As you are aware, the policy of the Reforms in India was introduced with the approval of all political parties in England, and all stand committed to it as the fundamental policy in relation to India of His Majesty's Government, however constituted and apart from other political controversies which mark lines of division in Parliament. It is not uninstruc-

in this connection to pause for a moment and reflect upon the succession of Prime Ministers and of Governments that has taken place in England since I became Viceroy nearly three years ago. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has so recently attained his present exalted office, is the fourth Prime Minister with whom I have served during my period of office as Viceroy. None of these Governments has wavered for one moment regarding the policy of the Reforms in India. Each in succession has immediately accepted the policy of the Reforms as the rock foundation of British policy in India. Governments may, and doubtless always will, vary as regards details of administration and may differ in opinion regarding the stages of progression and periods of advance, but the cardinal policy of the Reforms remains the same for all. It is the policy of the British Nation and not of any party. I commend these facts to the consideration of those, if there be any, who may still regard the promises held out as illusory and never to be fulfilled.

I came to India charged with the solemn duty of carrying out those Reforms, inspired by the earnest desire to make them a success and imbued with the firm determination to carry forward the conception along the road to further stages in its ultimate development. I have anxiously watched the consolidation of the foundations. I have seen the first courses of the edifice of Parliamentary institutions and traditions, and I stand pledged to carry onward the erection of the structure and to continue the building in the full hope of its ultimate completion. But be it remembered that the successful issue of the Reforms cannot depend solely upon the intentions and actions of His Majesty's Government or the Viceroy or the Government of India, or of all combined. The future must largely depend upon the people of India and the actions of the Legislature. A first stage was passed when the first Assembly was dissolved. My own appreciation of the value of the achievements of the first Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State was expressed in my prorogation speech.

AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION

We have now entered upon a second stage by the election of the New Assembly. I look and hope for continuance by the New Assembly of the same valuable tradition, for continuity is an essential condition of well-ordered political progress. A considerable advance has been made on the road. Many

difficulties have been successfully overcome and obstacles surmounted by the Legislature. Differences have occurred, but I am convinced that these have left no bitterness in their wake. Opinions varied, but there was a common objective, the advancement of India. To-day marks the opening of a new stage. It chanced to happen at a specially important moment, and when the future actions of this Legislature will be fraught with the deepest interest and significance to India. There is now a Government in England which number among its members some of the most ardent supporters of the Reforms and the most sympathetic friends of India. There is now a spirit in India, if I am to credit all I read, which is bent upon the destruction of the Reforms unless it immediately attains that which it is impossible for any British Government to grant forthwith: that is, complete Dominion self-government. I am well aware that words are often used in the heat of political conflict which perhaps convey more than is really intended. Moreover, it is but natural that when faced with the responsibility of action there should be deeper reflection upon its true significance and probable consequences. I cannot foretell the future. I do not know what it holds, but I cannot conceal from you that the political situation in India in its constitutional aspects causes me some anxiety for the future of the Reforms. I should be doing a disservice to India if I failed at this moment to give expression to my view, formed not upon a hasty or cursory survey, but as the result of as profound study and reflection as I can bring to bear upon a subject of supreme interest to me.

A WARNING REPEATED

In October last I sounded a note of warning which I must repeat here. In the friendliest spirit, but in all gravity, I spoke with the object of presenting the picture of the future, as I then saw it to those in India who had not failed in their support of the Reforms policy, although they had on occasion felt bound to oppose the actions of Government. You may remember that I adverted to the possible prospect, according to the then indications of events, of a check, which I deplored, in the onward progress of the Reforms. The possibility of this check has come nearer to us. Indeed, it is in a degree already with us in some aspects, although it has not yet happened and I devoutly trust it will not happen in the Central Legislature. If the position should become more acute in the Provinces, the

Local Governments may rely upon my fullest support. I still wonder, as I wondered in October, what purpose beneficial to India will be served by any course destined to destroy the continuity of progress in the Reform movement. No change in the constitution can be effected by legitimate and peaceful methods, save with the assent of the British Parliament, that is, the British people. The British Parliament has already set up the machinery now in operation for some time past. It is working with efficiency through well-ordered processes towards the creation of responsible self-government. It is difficult to conceive that any responsible body of opinion can ignore the purpose it has in view, or can desire to check its creative activities and to risk the injury which must result to the fine fabric already in process of being woven upon its looms. Nevertheless, I gather that there is a disposition in some quarters to believe that the hands of the British Parliament can be forced and that a situation may be created which may impair the Reforms and thus cause Parliament to act contrary to their desire and better judgment. It may appear easy to impair and even to destroy and recreate. Doubtless, destruction is always easier than construction. Violent revolutions have destroyed the institutions of nations. Neglect and apathy, in other cases, have induced their decay and extinction, but I beg you to remember that when influences of this nature have been set in motion, restoration and re-creation become infinitely more difficult and sometimes impossible. These influences make no appeal to the British people, and the British Parliament would emphatically repudiate and reject them. Rather rest the real hopes of the consummation of India's desires in the promises already made and in the intentions already manifested and to be manifested by that great champion of liberties, the British Parliament. As a devoted friend of India, I am convinced that action based on reason and justice will alone prevail with the British people and will prove the only safe road to the ultimate goal to be attained. I feel sure that you will keep steadfastly in mind, in the course of the deliberations of this session, that the eyes of all friends of reform will be fixed upon the harvest which the Legislature will sow and reap. It is of the greatest moment to India at this juncture that her elected representatives in the responsibilities of their present position should make a wise choice as regards the course they will pursue. I do not doubt that they are imbued by those ideals which have from the outset inspired this Legislature, and

that they seek the welfare of India. I earnestly pray that calm judgment and a desire for mutual understanding and goodwill may characterize this session of the Legislature, and may thus carry India further forward to the fulfilment of her legitimate aims and aspirations.



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